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FROM

The Society

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION

GEORGE H. HAYNES
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OF THE

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APRIL 14, 1920—OCTOBER 20, 1920

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NOTE

The thirtieth volume of the present series contains the records of the Proceedings of April 14, and October 20, 1920.

The reports of the Council have been presented by Henry Winchester Cunningham and Waldo Lincoln.

Papers have been received from Leonard Leopold Mackall, Gaillard Hunt, Henry Farr DePuy, Arthur Prentice Rugg, Charles Lemuel Nichols, Arthur Lord and Thomas Hovey Gage.

The volume contains the twelfth installment of the Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, covering part of Pennsylvania, (A-N) prepared by Clarence Saunders Brigham.

Obituary notices of the following deceased members appear in this volume: Andrew MacFarland Davis, Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Richard Ward Greene, Henry Fitch Jenks, William Denison Lyman, Thomas McAdory Owen, and James Schouler.

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April, 1885.

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April, 1887.

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April, 1890.

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October, 1890.

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April, 1891.

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October, 1891.

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April, 1893

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April, 1895.

Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, LL.D., Ravenna, Ohio.
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April, 1896.

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October, 1896.

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April, 1897.

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April, 1898.

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April, 1899.

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April, 1900.

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October, 1900.

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October, 1902.

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April, 1904.

Clarence Winthrop Bowen, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
Victor Hugo Paltsits,	New York, N. Y.

October, 1904.

Daniel Berkeley Updike, A.M., . Boston, Mass.

October, 1905.

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William Henry Holmes, ... Washington, D. C.

October, 1906.

William Keeney Bixby, LL.D., . . St. Louis, Mo.
Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, . . . Worcester, Mass.

April, 1907.

Worthington Chauncey Ford, LL.D., Cambridge, Mass.

October, 1907.

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April, 1908.

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Peter Joseph Hamilton, A.M., . San Juan, Porto Rico
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William Coolidge Lane, A.B., . . Cambridge, Mass.

April, 1908.

Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin, A.M., Chicago, Ill.
Edward Luther Stevenson, Ph.D., New York, N. Y.
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Charles Grenfill Washburn, A.B., Worcester, Mass.
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October, 1908.

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Clyde Augustus Duniway, Ph.D., Colorado Springs, Colo.
Max Farrand, Ph.D., ... New Haven, Conn.
Frederick Webb Hodge, ... Washington, D. C.
William Vail Kellen, LL.D., . . Boston, Mass.
Alfred Louis Kroeber, Ph.D., . . San Francisco, Cal.
Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D., . . Worcester, Mass.
Marshall Howard Saville, . . . New York, N. Y.
Alfred Marston Tozzer, Ph.D., . Cambridge, Mass.

April, 1909.

Samuel Morris Conant, ... Pawtucket, R. I.
Wilfred Harold Munro, L.H.D., . Providence, R. I.
Justin Harvey Smith, LL.D., . . Boston, Mass.

October, 1909.

Herman Vandenburg Ames, Ph.D., Philadelphia, Pa.
Edward Everett Ayer, ... Chicago, Ill.
Hiram Bingham, Ph.D., ... New Haven, Conn.
Henry Winchester Cunningham, A.B., Milton, Mass.
Roland Burrage Dixon, Ph.D., . Cambridge, Mass.
Frank Farnum Dresser, A.M., . . Worcester, Mass.
Albert Bushnell Hart, LL.D., . . Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. Shepherd Knapp, D.D., . . Worcester, Mass.

April, 1910.

Gaillard Hunt, LL.D. . . . . Washington, D. C.
Archer Milton Huntington, Litt.D., New York, N. Y.
Barrett Wendell, Litt.D., . . Boston, Mass.
Albert Henry Whitin, ... Whitinsville, Mass.

October, 1910.

Albert Carlos Bates, A.M. . . . Hartford, Conn.
George Francis Dow, ... Topsfield, Mass.
Charles Evans, ... Chicago, Ill.
Homer Gage, M.D., ... Worcester, Mass.
Samuel Verplanck Hoffmann, . . New York, N. Y.
William Milligan Sloane, LL.D., . Princeton, N. J.

April, 1911.

Thomas Willing Balch, L.H.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D.,	Northampton, Mass.
Archibald Cary Coolidge, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
Carl Russell Fish, Ph.D.,	Madison, Wis.
John Holladay Latané, Ph.D.,	Baltimore, Md.

April, 1912.

Clarence Walworth Alvord, Ph.D.,	Urbana, Ill.
Livingston Davis, A.B.,	Milton, Mass.
Archer Butler Hulbert, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
Charles Henry Taylor, Jr.,	Boston, Mass.

October, 1912.

William Archibald Dunning, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
William Howard Taft, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
Lyon Gardiner Tyler, LL.D.,	Williamsburg, Va.

October, 1913.

Herbert Eugene Bolton, Ph.D.,	Berkeley, Cal.
Rev. Herbert Edwin Lombard,	Webster, Mass.
Bernard Christian Steiner, Ph.D.,	Baltimore, Md.
Woodrow Wilson, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.

April, 1914.

Howard Millar Chapin, A.B.,	Providence, R. I.
Samuel Eliot Morison, Ph.D.,	Boston, Mass.
Grenville Howland Norcross, LL.B.,	Boston, Mass.
George Arthur Plimpton, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
Alexander Samuel Salley, Jr.,	Columbia, S. C.

October, 1914.

Jesse Walter Fewkes, Ph.D.,	Washington, D. C.
Thomas Hovey Gage, LL.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
Otis Grant Hammond, A.M.,	Concord, N. H.
Charles Francis Jenney, LL.B.,	Hyde Park, Mass.
William Pendleton Palmer,	Cleveland, Ohio.
Milo Milton Quaife, Ph.D.,	Madison, Wis.

April, 1915.

John Whittemore Farwell, Litt.B., Boston, Mass.
Rev. Samuel Hart, LL.D., . . . Middletown, Conn.
Ira Nelson Hollis, Sc.D., . . . Worcester, Mass.
Henry Edwards Huntington, LL.D., New York, N. Y.
Lawrence Waters Jenkins, A.B., . Salem, Mass.
Rev. Henry Bradford Washburn, D.D., Cambridge, Mass.
Leonard Wheeler, M.D., . . . Worcester, Mass.

October, 1915.

John Woolf Jordan, LL.D., . . . Philadelphia, Pa.
Alexander George McAdie, A.M., Milton, Mass.

April, 1916.

William Crowninshield Endicott, A.B., Danvers, Mass.
Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, B.A.S., Milton, Mass.

October, 1916.

Solon Justus Buck, Ph.D., . . . Minneapolis, Minn.
William Lawrence Clements, B.S., Bay City, Mich.
Lawrence Park, ... Groton, Mass.
Rogers Clark Ballard Thruston, Ph.B., Louisville, Ky.

April, 1917.

Henry Farr DePuy, ... New York, N. Y.
George Anthony Gaskill, A.B., . Worcester, Mass.
John Thomas Lee, ... Madison, Wis.
Rev. Charles Edwards Park, D.D., Boston, Mass.
Isaac Rand Thomas, ... Boston, Mass.

April, 1918.

James Kendall Hosmer, LL.D., . . Minneapolis, Minn.
Robert Hendre Kelby, ... New York, N. Y.
John Woodbury, A.B., ... Boston, Mass.

October, 1918.

Alfred Lawrence Aiken, A.M., . Worcester, Mass.
Charles Knowles Bolton, A.B., . Boston, Mass.
George Watson Cole, . . . New York, N. Y.
John Henry Edmonds, ... Boston, Mass.
Leonard Leopold Mackall, A.B., . New York, N. Y.
Samuel Lyman Munson, ... Albany, N. Y.

April, 1919.

James Alton James, Ph.D., . . . Evanston, Ill.
Frederick William Lehmann, LL.D., St. Louis, Mo.
Alfred Claghorn Potter, A.B., . Cambridge, Mass.
Harold Marsh Sewall, LL.B., . . Bath, Me.
Robert Kendall Shaw, A.B., . . Worcester, Mass.
William Roscoe Thayer, LL.D., . Cambridge, Mass.
William Thomas, LL.B., ... San Francisco, Cal.

October, 1919.

Robert Digges Wimberly Connor, Ph.B. Raleigh, N. C.
Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes, A.B., New York, N. Y.

April, 1920.

Merrick Lincoln, M.D., ... Worcester, Mass.
George Leander Shepley, A.M., . Providence, R. I.
James Benjamin Wilbur, ... Manchester, Vt.

October, 1920.

John Adams Aiken, LL.D., . . . Greenfield, Mass.
William Gwinn Mather, . . . Cleveland, Ohio.
Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D., . . Cambridge, Mass.
Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, A.B., Charleston, S. C.

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BOLIVIA.

April, 1910.

NAME	RESIDENCE
Manuel Vicente Ballivián, . . .	La Paz.

BRAZIL.

April, 1910.

José Carlos Rodriguez, LL.B., . .	Rio de Janeiro.

April, 1919.

Manuel De Oliveira Lima, . . .	Washington, D. C.

BRITISH GUIANA.

October, 1917.

James Rodway, ...	Georgetown.

CANADA.

April, 1908.

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April, 1910.

Arthur George Doughty, Litt.D.,	Ottawa.
William Lawson Grant, A.M., . .	Kingston.
William Wood, D.C.L., ...	Quebec.

October, 1910.

George McKinnon Wrong, A.M., .	Toronto.

CHILE.

April, 1909.

José Toribio Medina, ...	Santiago de Chile.

COSTA RICA.

April, 1919.

ANASTASIO ALFARO, ... San José.

FRANCE.

October, 1896.

HENRY VIGNAUD, ... Bagneux, Seine.

October, 1917.

JEAN JULES JUSSERAND, LL.D., . . Paris.

April, 1919.

SEYMOUR DE RICCI, ... Paris.

GERMAN EMPIRE.

April, 1875.

OTTO KELLER, PH.D., ... Stuttgart.

April, 1893.

JOHANNES CONRAD, LL.D., . . . Halle.

April, 1910.

EDUARD SELER, PH.D., ... Berlin.

GREAT BRITAIN.

April, 1882.

RT. HON. VISCOUNT BRYCE, D.C.L. . Sussex.

October, 1892.

CHARLES HARDING FIRTH, LITT.D., . Oxford.
SIR PAUL VINOGRADOFF, LL.D., . . Oxford.

October, 1894.

HUBERT HALL, F.S.A. . . . . London.

October, 1901.

SIR ARTHUR HERBERT CHURCH, D.Sc., Shelsley, Kew Gardens.

October, 1910.

ALFRED PERCIVAL MAUDSLAY, D.Sc., London.

October, 1913.

VERE LANGFORD OLIVER, ... Sunninghill.

October, 1915.

RT. HON. SIR GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, LL.D., London.

HOLLAND.

October, 1895.

JOHANN CHRISTOPH VOLLGRAFF, L.H.D., Utrecht.

HONDURAS.

October, 1917.

ALBERTO MEMBREÑO, ... Tegucigalpa.

MEXICO.

October, 1890.

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April, 1907.

GENARO GARCÍA, ... Mexico City.

NORWAY.

October, 1906.

ROALD AMUNDSEN, ... Christiania.

PERU.

October, 1912.

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October 1920

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PORTUGAL.

October, 1906.

BERNARDINO MACHADO, ... Lisbon.

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April, 1912.

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Franz Boas, Ph.D.,	New York, N. Y.
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Herbert Eugene Bolton, Ph.D.,	Berkeley, Cal.
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Clarence Winthrop Bowen, LL.D.,*	New York, N. Y.
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Solon Justus Buck, Ph.D.,	Minneapolis, Minn.

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George Watson Cole, ... New York, N. Y.
Reuben Colton, A.B., ... Boston, Mass.
Samuel Morris Conant, . . . Pawtucket, R. I.
Robert Digges Wimberly Connor, Ph.B., Raleigh, N.C.
Archibald Cary Coolidge, LL.D.,* Boston, Mass.
Henry Winchester Cunningham, A.B.,* Milton, Mass.
Livingston Davis, A.B.,* . . . Milton, Mass.
Henry Farr DePuy, ... New York, N. Y.
Francis Henshaw Dewey, A.M.,* Worcester, Mass.
Roland Burrage Dixon, Ph.D., . Cambridge, Mass.
George Francis Dow, ... Topsfield, Mass.
Frank Farnum Dresser, A.M., . Worcester, Mass.
Clyde Augustus Duniway, Ph.D., Colorado Springs, Col.
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Carl Russell Fish, Ph.D., . . . Madison, Wis.
William Trowbridge Forbes, A.B. Worcester, Mass.
Worthington Chauncey Ford, LL.D., Cambridge, Mass.
William Eaton Foster, Litt.D.,* Providence, R. I.
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Edward Hooker Gilbert, A.B., . Ware, Mass.
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Edwin Augustus Grosvenor, LL.D., Amherst, Mass.
Lewis Winters Gunckel, Ph.B., . Dayton, Ohio.

Granville Stanley Hall, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
Peter Joseph Hamilton, A.M.,	San Juan, Porto Rico.
Otis Grant Hammond, A.M.,	Concord, N. H.
William Harden,	Savannah, Ga.
Albert Bushnell Hart, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
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Benjamin Thomas Hill, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
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William Henry Holmes,	Washington, D. C.
James Kendall Hosmer, LL.D.,	Minneapolis, Minn.
Archer Butler Hulbert, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
Charles Henry Hull, Ph.D.,	Ithaca, N. Y.
Gaillard Hunt, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
Archer Milton Huntington, Litt.D.,	New York, N. Y.
Henry Edwards Huntington, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
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Henry Phelps Johnston, A.M.,	New York, N. Y.
John Woolf Jordan, LL.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Robert Hendre Kelby,	New York, N. Y.
William Vail Kellen, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, B.A.S.,*	Milton, Mass.
Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt,*	Worcester, Mass.
George Lyman Kittredge, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. Shepherd Knapp, D.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
Alfred Louis Kroeber, Ph.D.,	San Francisco, Cal.
William Coolidge Lane, A.B.,	Cambridge, Mass.
John Holladay Latané, Ph.D.,	Baltimore, Md.
Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, LL.D.,*	Boston, Mass.
John Thomas Lee,	Madison, Wis.
Frederick William Lehmann, LL.D.,	St. Louis, Mo.
Merrick Lincoln, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
Waldo Lincoln, A.B.,*	Worcester, Mass.
Henry Cabot Lodge, LL.D.,*	Nahant, Mass.
Rev. Herbert Edwin Lombard,*	Webster, Mass.

Arthur Lord, LL.D., ... Plymouth, Mass.
Joseph Florimond Loubat, LL.D.,* Paris, France.
Abbott Lawrence Lowell, LL.D.,* Cambridge, Mass.
Alexander George McAdie, A.M., Milton, Mass.
Samuel Walker McCall, LL.D., . Winchester, Mass.
William MacDonald, LL.D., . . Berkeley, Cal.
Leonard Leopold Mackall, A.B., New York, N. Y.
Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin, A.M., Chicago, Ill.
John Bach McMaster, LL.D., . Philadelphia, Pa.
William Gwinn Mather, . . . Cleveland, Ohio.
Albert Matthews, A.B., . . . Boston, Mass.
Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, LL.D., Ravenna, Ohio.
John McKinstry Merriam, A.B., Framingham, Mass.
Roger Bigelow Merriman, Ph.D.,* Cambridge, Mass.
Clarence Bloomfield Moore, A.B., Philadelphia, Pa.
Samuel Eliot Morison, Ph.D.* . Concord, Mass.
Edward Sylvester Morse, Sc.D., Salem, Mass.
Wilfred Harold Munro, L.H.D., Providence, R. I.
Samuel Lyman Munson, . . . Albany, N. Y.
Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D., Litt.D.,* Worcester, Mass.
Grenville Howland Norcross, LL.B.,* Boston, Mass.
William Pendleton Palmer, . . Cleveland, Ohio.
Victor Hugo Paltsits, ... New York, N. Y.
Rev. Charles Edwards Park, D.D., Boston, Mass.
Lawrence Park,* . . . . . Groton, Mass.
George Arthur Plimpton, LL.D., New York, N. Y.
Alfred Claghorn Potter, A.B., . Cambridge, Mass.
Herbert Putnam, LL.D., . . . Washington, D. C.
Milo Milton Quaife, Ph.D., . . Madison, Wis.
James Ford Rhodes, LL.D.,* . . Boston, Mass.
Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D., . . Cambridge, Mass.
Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D.,* . Worcester, Mass.
Alexander Samuel Salley, Jr., . Columbia, S. C.
Marshall Howard Saville, . . New York, N. Y.
Harold Marsh Sewall, LL.B., . Bath, Me.
Albert Shaw, LL.D., ... New York, N. Y.
Robert Kendall Shaw, A.B., . . Worcester, Mass.
George Leander Shepley, A.M., . Providence, R. I.
William Milligan Sloane, LL.D., Princeton, N. J.

Justin Harvey Smith, LL.D., . . Boston, Mass.
Rev. Calvin Stebbins, A.B.,* . . Framingham, Mass.
Bernard Christian Steiner, Ph.D., Baltimore, Md.
Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, A.B., Charleston, S. C.
Edward Luther Stevenson, Ph.D., New York, N. Y.
Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes, A.B., New York, N. Y.
William Howard Taft, LL.D., . New Haven, Conn.
Charles Henry Taylor, Jr.,* . Boston, Mass.
Hannis Taylor, LL.D., ... Washington, D. C.
William Roscoe Thayer, LL.D., . Cambridge, Mass.
Allen Clapp Thomas, A.M., . . Haverford, Pa.
Isaac Rand Thomas,* . . . . Boston, Mass.
William Thomas, LL.B., . . . San Francisco, Cal.
Edward Herbert Thompson, . . Cambridge, Mass.
Rogers Clark Ballard Thruston, Ph.B, Louisville, Ky.
Alfred Marston Tozzer, Ph.D., . Cambridge, Mass.
Frederick Jackson Turner, LL.D., Cambridge, Mass.
Julius Herbert Tuttle,* . . . Dedham, Mass.
Lyon Gardiner Tyler, LL.D., . Williamsburg, Va.
Daniel Berkeley Updike, A.M., . Boston, Mass.
Samuel Utley, LL.B., ... Worcester, Mass.
Rev. Williston Walker, Litt.D. New Haven, Conn.
Charles Grenfill Washburn, A.B., Worcester, Mass.
Rev. Henry Bradford Washburn, D.D., Cambridge, Mass.
Barrett Wendell, Litt.D., . . Boston, Mass.
Leonard Wheeler, M.D., . . . Worcester, Mass.
Albert Henry Whitin . . . . Whitinsville Mass.
James Benjamin Wilbur . . . Manchester, Vt.
Woodrow Wilson, LL.D., . . . Washington, D. C.
George Parker Winship, Litt.D.,* Dover, Mass.
Thomas Lindall Winthrop, . . Boston, Mass.
John Woodbury, A.B.,* . . . Boston, Mass.
Samuel Bayard Woodward, M.D., Worcester, Mass.

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VOL. 30 NEW SERIES P

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Soci

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON

APRIL 14, 1920

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VOL. 30 NEW SERIES PART 1

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APRIL 14, 1920

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS U. S. A.
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HARVARD COLLEGE
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PROCEEDINGS

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 14, 1920, IN THE HOUSE OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

THE semi-annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society was called to order in the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, at 10.45 a. m., April 14, 1920, President Lincoln in the chair.

There were present:

Reuben Colton, William Eaton Foster, Charles Pelham Greenough, Francis Henshaw Dewey, William Trowbridge Forbes, Arthur Lord, Waldo Lincoln, Edward Sylvester Morse, George Parker Winship, Samuel Utley, George Lyman Kittredge, Albert Matthews, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Daniel Berkeley Updike, Clarence Saunders Brigham, Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, Worthington Chauncey Ford, Herbert Putnam, Julius Herbert Tuttle, Charles Grenfill Washburn, Wilfred Harold Munro, Justin Harvey Smith, Henry Winchester Cunningham, Frank Farnum Dresser, George Francis Dow, Livingston Davis, Archer Butler Hulbert, Rev. Herbert Edwin Lombard, Howard Millar Chapin, Samuel Eliot Morison, Grenville Howland Norcross, Thomas Hovey Gage, Charles Francis Jenney, John Whittemore Farwell, Lawrence Waters Jenkins, Rev. Henry Bradford Washburn, Alexander George McAdie, Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, John Woodbury, George Watson Cole, John Henry Edmonds, Leonard Leopold

Mackall, Samuel Lyman Munson, Harold Marsh Sewall, Robert Kendall Shaw, William Roscoe Thayer.

The Recording Secretary being unable to be present on account of sickness, on motion of Mr. Winship, Mr. Jenkins was elected acting Recording Secretary for the meeting, and the oath was administered to him by Grenville H. Norcross.

The acting Recording Secretary, read the records of the last meeting.

Mr. Cunningham read the Report of the Council. On motion of Mr. Norcross it was voted: That the Report of the Council be accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The President appointed Messrs.Norcross and Shaw a committee to collect, sort and count ballots for new members. The committee reported the election of the following:

RESIDENT MEMBERS

Merrick Lincoln, of Worcester, Mass.
George Leander Shepley, of Providence, R. I.
James Benjamin Wilbur, of Manchester, Vt.

The President stated that the roof of the Library building was leaking badly and that it was necessary that the dome should be covered with copper. It was voted: That the Council be authorized to expend such a sum of money from the principal funds, available for the purpose, as may be necessary to repair the dome of the Library building.

There being no further business the members listened to the following papers:

"A Letter from John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson" by Leonard L. Mackall, of New York, N. Y.

"William Thornton and Negro Colonization," by Gaillard Hunt, of Washington, D. C.

"An Early Account of the Establishment of Jesuit Missions in America," by Henry F. DePuy, of Easton, Md.

Messrs. Hunt and DePuy being unable to be present, their papers were read by Messrs. Putnam and Winship, respectively. On motion of Mr. Washburn it was voted: That the papers be referred to the Committee of Publication.

It was announced that the members would be entertained at luncheon by Mr. John W. Farwell, at his residence, 457 Beacon Street.

There being no further business, the meeting was dissolved.

LAWRENCE W. JENKINS,
Acting Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

IN accordance with the by-laws the Council makes its Report to the members on the progress of the Society for the past six months. Nothing of especial importance has happened that would call for extensive comment, and this report will be confined to a simple message to the members, to keep them informed on the work and aspirations of the Society. These reports in the past have often been used by their writers as a means of communicating a paper on some historical subject, which, though interesting and valuable, was not germane to the object of the report, and several members have expressed the wish that these reports might be more brief and confined to their business aspects, and that the essays on special topics might appear elsewhere at the meeting as separate communications. But when we are fortunate enough to have the report written by one of the older members it is of great value to have him include his reminiscences of early meetings and former members, for this infuses a real antiquarian breath, and puts the younger men *en rapport* with the atmosphere and traditions of the Society. A good example of this was in October, 1918, when the late Andrew McFarland Davis drew such a vivid picture of the old-time meetings with their devoted attendants sitting on the antique sofas and chairs around the Secretary's desk.

During the past winter the weather has been so severe and the means of travel so antiquated and uncertain that fewer people than usual have been able to go to Worcester and use the treasures in our building.

Sickness has for a portion of the time deprived the Society of the constant and devoted attention of two of our leading officials. Our President, started in the autumn for a long trip to the Pacific, which was cut short by a serious illness in southern California, from which he has but recently recovered, and we welcome him back to his accustomed chair, where we hope to see him for many a year, with renewed health and strength. And our beloved Recording Secretary after many weeks in a Boston hospital has but just returned to his home in Worcester, where he is daily improving, and it is a matter of deep regret to us, as I know it is to him, that he is not here present with us today.

The serious financial problems that harass all the world have not passed us by, and the heavy increase in the cost of all we need affects every department in the library. Our coal and all kinds of supplies have increased in cost, while our income coming from invested funds and the generosity of our friends has not kept pace with the increase. But even so, we have not been without donations and have received additions to our funds to an amount larger than in any year since the Centennial Fund of 1912. Following Dr. Samuel A. Green's bequest of $5,000, which came to hand just at the time of the meeting last October, there was a gift of $6,000 from Andrew McFarland Davis accompanied by the following letter:

CAMBRIDGE, DEC. 13, 1919.

DEAR SIRS:

When the portrait of Stephen Salisbury was painted I contributed to the Society two thousand dollars. When the John and Eliza Davis Fund was established I contributed one thousand and at a later date another thousand to that fund. It is my desire to have a fund established in the Society bearing my name, which shall ultimately be carried on the Treasurer's books at a capital sum of not less than ten thousand dollars, and in order that this desire may take effect I enclose a check for $6,000 (say six thousand dollars), the annual interest upon which I desire to have added to the capital of the fund until the

same shall reach ten thousand dollars. After that date the annual income of the fund to be at the disposal of the Council for any current expenses. The allusion to previous contributions to the Society has no other bearing on the questions involved in the establishment of this fund than their influence upon myself. In each instance they represented a desire to aid the Society and a belief that it was the last contribution that I should feel myself able to make.

The benefactions of the Davis family are larger than those of any except those of the Salisburys and Isaiah Thomas.

In January last our associate William K. Bixby of St. Louis wrote that he had deposited to our credit in the St. Louis Union Trust Co. the sum of $2,000 the interest of which trust would come to the Society each year. This gift adds to our already large indebtedness to Mr. Bixby for his gifts of valuable historical publications.

From Samuel L. Munson, of Albany, the Society has received a donation of $1,000, to be added to the invested funds. This gift, all the more welcome because it was unsolicited, shows that our efforts to preserve Americana for the use of students are appreciated.

From our associate on the Council, Clarence W. Bowen, we have received the portraits of Theophilus Chandler and his wife, painted by Winthrop Chandler about 1770. Winthrop Chandler was an early New England artist of considerable merit and was the brother of Theophilus and the Reverend Thomas Bradbury Chandler. He was born in Woodstock, Conn., in 1747, and died in Thompson, Conn., in 1790. Some of his portraits in oils are preserved in each of these towns and in Worcester and Petersham, Mass.

This gift from Mr. Bowen is especially appreciated, as the Society at the present time is anxious to acquire early American portraits. In the old building on Lincoln Square there was little room for pictures, and those which we had seemed a large collection. But in

the new building, with its abundant wall space, excellent lighting and fine setting for portraits, we could hang to advantage many paintings. It seems quite strange that this Society, which for one hundred and eight years has been the object of many valuable gifts, has not received more colonial portraits by the better-known artists. Today we do not possess a single example by Stuart, Copley, Peale, Savage, Trumbull or a dozen other well-known painters who flourished previous to 1820. Therefore the Society stands ready to receive gifts of this character. It is an excellent opportunity for members and friends to place their old American portraits where they will be preserved and valued and where they can be seen by students. Often owners of such paintings have no direct heirs, or even if they have, they cannot see into the future and know whether the portraits may not in another generation or two fall into the hands of someone who will care little for them. And in this connection it seems eminently proper that this Society should make a collection of reproductions of all early American portraits, perhaps even coming down to the time of the Civil War which marked a period of great change in the character of this country. Almost all the early portraits have been photographed and most of them can be obtained of a uniform size (8 x 10), and these could be mounted on cards and placed alphabetically in a cabinet. Were it generally known that we were making such a collection, gifts would come to us. The writer knows of one gentlemen in Boston who now stands ready to donate a large number of these pictures. And if it were known that we had them, students and investigators would come to us to see them.

If we confined ourselves to portraits of Americans, we should be in a better position to preserve them, than are the great art museums that must collect pictures on all subjects and must lay stress on the artistic character of the picture more than on the

subject, and must also consider the question of rearranging their collections from time to time, and possibly relegating to the storeroom or the cellar, such pictures as do not meet the ideas of the trustees or the public of the moment.

The Librarian reports that work in the Library has progressed satisfactorily during the winter. He states that a large number of gaps in the genealogical collection have been filled and that several valuable newspaper files have been obtained as will be chronicled in his report at the annual meeting. Miss Louise Colegrove, who has been an assistant in the Library since 1908, has left to take a position with the Worcester Commercial High School, her place for the present being filled by Miss Emma F. Waite.

A large collection of books, including several rare early imprints, has been received from the bequest of the late Dr. Samuel A. Green. According to the seventh article of the codicil to his will it was stated: "I hereby give and bequeath to the Massachusetts Historical Society such of my books as it may select, to the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, such of my books as it may thereafter select; to the Newberry Library of Chicago, such of my books as it may thereafter select, and the remainder of my books to the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society."

The material selected by us totaled 144 books and 219 pamphlets. Richard Ward Greene, just before leaving for Nassau where he died, gave to the Library, ninety volumes relating to South American history, and since his death there has been turned over by his estate, with the consent of Mrs. Greene, 110 volumes. This latter collection consisted chiefly of standard works on recent American history, and included a number of volumes from the library of our late associate, John Davis Washburn, the father of Mrs. Greene.

The Proceedings are somewhat in arrears and the Society is sorely in need of a member who will take the

place of the late Franklin P. Rice, whose knowledge of printing and whose interest in publication affairs made him of great benefit in the issuing of the Proceedings. The issue covering the meeting of April, 1919, is now in the bindery and will be sent to members very shortly. With a little effort and with an active chairman of the publication committee, it would not require much trouble to publish the October issue, and then the Proceedings of the semi-annual meetings could be brought out within two or three months after the meetings are held. The increased cost of printing, however, means that more money will have to be devoted to publication than in previous years if the same standard is adhered to.

Three members have died in the last half year: Rev. Henry Fitch Jenks, of Canton, Mass., on January 31; Richard Ward Greene of Worcester, on March 7; Andrew McFarland Davis, of Cambridge, on March 29.

Rev. Mr. Jenks a graduate of Harvard in the Class of 1863, was a Unitarian minister, and a member of several learned societies. He was elected to membership in April, 1901, was always interested in the Society, and a regular attendant at the meetings until ill health restricted his activities. The death of Mr. Greene is a great loss to the Society. Ever since his election to membership in October, 1916, and even before it, he was always ready to help the Library with work and with gifts. Because of his South American connections he was much interested in this field and presented many volumes of rarity and value relating to Chili, Bolivia, and Peru, his gift of the long file of the early Peruvian newspaper *El Mercurio Peruano* being of especial note. Having inherited a large collection of papers of the Greene family of Rhode Island, he had all of them sent to the Library some two years ago, and spent many hours of his time sorting and arranging them. The papers relating to Rhode Island were turned over to the R. I. Historical Society,

and the South American papers, chiefly the papers of Hon. Samuel Larned, chargé d'affaires at Peru and Bolivia from 1828 to 1837, were presented to this Society.

The death of Andrew McFarland Davis removes a most distinguished member and steadfast supporter and friend. At the time of his death he was the third in seniority on our membership list having been elected in April, 1882. His activity in historical research and his interest in Worcester made him a conspicuous candidate for administering the Society's affairs, and he was successively a councillor, since 1904, recording secretary from 1906 to 1909, and a vice-president since 1909. He was a constant contributor of historical literature to the Library, a frequent writer for the Proceedings and, as has been mentioned above in this Report, a generous donor to our funds.

At the meeting of the Council, held April 13, 1920, the following minute, prepared by Mr. Lincoln, was read and adopted:—

The death of Andrew McFarland Davis, senior Vice-President of the Society and a member of the Council since 1904, has deprived the Society and Council of one of its most liberal, enthusiastic and valuable members.

While health permitted he was a constant attendant at the Society's meetings, and never missed a meeting of the Council if possible to be present, even coming from a considerable distance while recording secretary, such was his conscientious regard for the obligations of that office.

Ever ready with advice as to the conduct of the affairs of the Society, and unsparing of criticism, when he disapproved of any proposed action, yet his advice and criticism were given in such a kindly spirit that he never gave offense, and rather increased the respect and affection with which he was regarded by the other members of the Council.

His satisfaction with the management of the Society's affairs was shown by his liberal gifts. With his brothers he established in 1900, the John and Eliza Davis Fund in memory of his parents. In 1906 he gave the library an oil portrait of Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., by Vinton, but modestly declined to have his name mentioned as the donor, and, being recording secretary, was able to see that his wishes were respected. He

was again a liberal contributor to the John and Eliza Davis Fund in 1912, and his recent gift of six thousand dollars ($6,000), but a few weeks before his death, bears renewed testimony to his interest in the Society and to his conviction that it was worthy of his support.

His death has left a vacancy in our hearts which cannot be filled, and, with gratitude that he was spared to us so long, we place on record this testimonial of our loving appreciation of the faithfulness with which he performed his duties as a member both of the Council and of the Society.

We have now upon our rolls fifteen who have been members for thirty years and six of these for thirty-five years. Of these last "venerable" gentlemen, one is the senior senator from Massachusetts; two of them (Messrs. Colton and Edes) are constant and devoted in their attendance at our meetings as they have been for many years, and, having become members in comparative youth, they may easily complete a half century upon our rolls.

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM,
For the Council.

OBITUARIES

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS

There can have been few of our members who have had greater inherited interest in our Society than our late associate Andrew McFarland Davis. His father, Governor Davis, was for thirty years, Councillor, Vice-President and President; on the distaff side, his grandfather, Dr. Bancroft, was a charter member (1812) and a Councillor or Vice-President for nearly twenty years, while his uncle, George Bancroft, was long a Vice-President and his elder brother, John Chandler Bancroft Davis, was one of our members. At the time of his death, Mr. Davis's name stood third in point of seniority on the roll of our membership.

Born in Worcester on the thirtieth of December, 1833, Andrew McFarland Davis was the son of Governor John and Eliza (Bancroft) Davis. His earliest inclination was toward a naval career. Being appointed Midshipman, he cruised more than once in the Mediterranean and other foreign waters, but the service at that time was at a low ebb, and finding that promotion would be slow, and that the life was not all that his youthful fancy had painted it, he resigned, and turning his thoughts in the direction of science, entered the Lawrence Scientific School, from which he graduated in 1854. He soon identified himself with railway affairs, especially with the Erie Road, bringing out the first freight schedule ever used in the United States. He was also employed in civil engineering in the South and Middle West, but after a short time, decided to study law, and was admitted to both the New York and Massachusetts Bars. Opportunity offering for him to enter into partnership with his brother, Horace, in the rapidly increasing business enterprises of California, he betook himself to San Francisco, where he identified himself with the best

interests of the city, serving on the School Committee and becoming President of the Board of Education.

About 1890, Mr. Davis returned to his native State and settled permanently in Cambridge. For a few years he was Vice-President of the Prudential Fire Insurance Company of New York, with offices in Boston, but thereafter retired wholly from active business.

Fuller leisure enabled him to devote himself to the antiquarian and historical pursuits which, although a man of uncommon catholicity of taste, were, after all, dearest to his heart. He was a frequent contributor to the Proceedings of our Society, as is shown by the following List:

Journey of Moncacht-Apé	1883
The Colony of Nox	1887
The First Scholarship at Harvard	1887
The Cambridge Press	1888
Site of the First College Building at Cambridge	1888
Early College Buildings at Cambridge	1890
The Lady Mowlson Scholarship	1893
Law of Adultery and Punishments	1895
Legislation with the Land Bank of 1740	1896
The General Court and Land Bank Litigants	1897
Benjamin Apthorp Gould	1897
Massachusetts Bay Currency	1899
Andros's Proclamation Money	1900
The Fund at Boston in New England	1903
Emergent Treasury-Supply in Massachusetts	1905
Was it Andros?	1907
The Shays Rebellion	1911

He also wrote several papers for the Narrative and Critical History of America, the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts. In 1903, he published "The Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate," and printed several papers connected with Harvard College in addition to volumes on Massachusetts Currency and Banking and similar subjects.

Mr. Davis married Henrietta Parker Whitney and was survived by two sons and two daughters.

In 1893, he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Harvard in recognition of his historical achievement and in 1895, he was elected to honorary membership in the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, a noteworthy fact in connection with the latter honor being that his maternal grandfather, Dr. Bancroft (H. C. 1778) was one of the earliest members of the same chapter, in which also were enrolled Mr. Davis's brother, Horace, (H. C. 1849), his sons, Bancroft Gherardi (1885) and Horace Andrew (1891) and his grandson, Hallowell Davis (1918), while his father (Yale 1812) was a member of the Yale Chapter.

The limits of this sketch give us little space to speak of Mr. Davis's character. In addition to his intellectual gifts he possessed business sagacity and acumen; and his father certainly bequeathed to him the qualities which endued the Governor with the well-known sobriquet of "Honest John." He was a most generous giver and the principles, the sterling integrity, the high aims and ideals which we of New England love to feel are peculiarly exemplified in her descendants, were in him strikingly apparent.

Mr. Davis died in Cambridge on the twenty-ninth of March, 1920. To him indeed was granted the "liberty to that only which is good, just and honest."

H. H. E.

RICHARD WARD GREENE

Richard Ward Greene, the son of Charles Collins Greene and Nieves Carmen Haviland Greene, was born at Timaya, Chile, South America, December 5, 1861, and died at the hospital at Nassau, Bahama Islands, March 7, 1920, after only a few days illness. He was a descendant of the distinguished Greene family of Rhode Island, of which the pioneer was Dr. John Greene, a native of England, who came to Massachusetts about 1635 and afterward followed Roger Williams to Providence, R. I. General Nathanael

Greene of Revolutionary fame was in his ancestral line, and "The Forge" at Potowomut, built by the son of Dr. John Greene, became Richard Ward Greene's summer residence. Mr. Greene's father was a native of East Greenwich, R. I., but going to Chile at a comparatively early age, as a mining engineer, he married and remained there the greater part of his life, serving his country as United States Consul for many years.

Richard Ward Greene was one of a large family and his father, wishing that one of his sons should know by early education and environment the results of what his ancestors had helped to create, and thus prepare him to maintain the family name and tradition in the old family home, sent him to New England when a mere boy, to be educated. The schools of Rhode Island and Massachusetts contributed to this education and he entered the Worcester Polytechnic Institute in 1883. Being offered a position in the insurance office of Hon. John D. Washburn, in Worcester, he left the Polytechnic, and the next year, 1884, became a partner in the firm at the early age of twenty-three, and in 1906, after the death of his senior partner, became head of the firm. He married April 23, 1884, Edith Putnam Washburn, the only daughter of Hon. John D. Washburn, who survives him.

Through early association with family records which were closely associated with the history of Rhode Island, and through living a part of each year in the old colonial family home, which contained much of historic and antiquarian value, he became deeply interested in colonial history, in early American portraiture, manuscripts and autograph letters, and acquired the true antiquarian enthusiasm for all that pertained to colonial days and to the early history of our country. In 1916, he was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society; in 1917, an honorary member of the Rhode Island Historical Society; and in 1918, a Trustee of the Worcester Art Museum. A few

weeks before his death, he had prepared plans for the restoration of the old Salisbury colonial mansion in Worcester, wishing to preserve it as a type of early colonial architecture and to make it, through acquisitions, a true reproduction of an early New England home.

Although Richard Ward Greene was a comparatively recent member of our own Society, he brought to it an enthusiasm, an interest, and a knowledge relating to Spanish South America, which were highly appreciated and promised much for the future.

L. N. K.

HENRY FITCH JENKS

Henry Fitch Jenks was born in Boston on October 17, 1842, and died in Canton on January 21, 1920. He was the son of John Henry and Mary Fitch Jenks. He was graduated from the Boston Latin School in 1859, from Harvard College in 1863 and from Harvard Divinity School in 1866. In 1867 he was ordained, and held pastorates at Fitchburg, Charleston, S. C., Revere, Lawrence, and lastly in 1885 at Canton, where he officiated as minister of the First Congregational Parish (Unitarian) until 1904 when he was made pastor emeritus.

Mr. Jenks was a member of many religious, genealogical, educational and historical societies. He was vice-president of the Boston Latin School Association, charter member of the Bostonian Society, trustee of the Canton Public Library and member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. To this Society, he was elected in 1901, and was a frequent attendant at the meetings until the last few years. He was the editor of the historical Catalogue of the Boston Latin School, and published several sermons, historical sketches and contributions to periodicals. He married on March 1, 1881, Lavinia H. Angier of Belfast, Maine, who with three sons survived him.

C. S. B.

A LETTER FROM THE VIRGINIA LOYALIST JOHN RANDOLPH TO THOMAS JEFFERSON WRITTEN IN LONDON IN 1779

BY LEONARD L. MACKALL

WHEN our President asked me to read a paper to-day, no doubt he hoped that I would produce one of those elaborately documented compositions, consisting of a quasi-legible text resting cautiously on a reinforced concrete foundation of bibliographical notes and other ballast, of which I have been guilty in print on various occasions and in very various fields. But this time circumstances have combined to prevent such a consummation—whether devoutly to be wished or not—and so, even at the risk of a great gain in interest, I shall take but a few moments of your time by reading what seems a very interesting and hitherto entirely unknown letter to Jefferson, written by his kinsman[1] and friend, John Randolph, not "of Roanoke," but the Loyalist Attorney-General of Virginia, father of Edmund Randolph, the Patriot.

With rare exceptions, Latin quotations are no longer well received in polite society, but it is still customary for bibliophiles to cite the words of old Terentianus Maurus: "Habent sua fata libelli;" and it is well known that the fate of manuscripts is often still more strange than that of books. The present document qualifies in both classes.

Several years ago a catalogue of a well-known London firm dealing in books and manuscripts offered

[1]John Randolph's father, Sir John Randolph, was a brother of Isham Randolph, whose daughter Jane was the mother of Thomas Jefferson.

two copies of Tucker's *Life of Jefferson* (London, 1837,) the first being described[2] as: "With a long A. L. S., 5 pp., 4 to, from John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson, on the affairs of the period (1773 [*sic*]) inserted"; and hence priced at 12s. 6d.—or 4s. more than the other! So I ordered the expensive copy, and was indeed much surprised when I received it and read the letter (which was loosely inserted and readily detached.)

Our John Randolph is described in Wirt's *Patrick Henry*[3] as "in person and manners among the most elegant gentlemen in the colony, and in his profession, one of the most splendid ornaments of the bar. He was a polite scholar, as well as a profound lawyer, and his eloquence also was of a high order. His voice, action, style, were stately, and uncommonly impressive, . . gigantic as he was in relation to other men" [except Patrick Henry in criminal cases]. As the (last) Royal Attorney-General of Virginia, he considered that his oath of office and his honor required him to support the Royal policy and the Royal Governor, Lord Dunmore, who indeed reported to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in Dec. 1774, that: "there are but too few even of the Council, and only the King's Attorney-General of all the Officers of Govt. who have discovered the least disposition to aid govt., contenting themselves with not subscribing associations, but at the same time adhering strictly to them and therefore giving encouragement to them."[4]

In short Randolph was a conscientious Royalist and

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[2]No. 1255 in Catalogue 292 (June, 1912) of Maggs Bros.

[3]*Sketches of the Life* & c. *of Patrick Henry* by Wm. Wirt, Phila. 1817, p. 74.

[4]Dunmore's despatch, Williamsburg (Va.), Dec. 24, 1774, in Public Record Office, London, as no. 23 in C. O. 5/1353, page 59. (formerly: S. P. O. Va. 195). From the Geo. Bancroft Transcripts (N. Y. Public Library), Virginia Papers (Series II) vol. II (1768-75)p. 527 the above passage was used for a paraphrase in Chas. R. Lingley's *The Transition in Va. from Colony to Commonwealth* (Columbia Univ. Studies in History, Economics & c., vol. 36, no. 2) N. Y. 1910, p. 118. The Secretary of the Public Record Office has now kindly compared my transcript of the Bancroft transcript with the original, and also given me the present press mark, as above.

Loyalist, one of that large group of men, many of them noble characters, whom, in spite of Sabine's book, it was the custom to simply damn with no praise at all, until the comparatively recent researches of Van Tyne and others at length inaugurated a fairer method of procedure.

One of the more recent and most valuable publications in this whole field is unfortunately little known and but rarely accessible, since it was privately printed, not for sale, and (as I have only just succeeded in ascertaining) the edition was limited to one hundred copies, all told. I refer to Mrs. Whitelaw Reid's handsome quarto: *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists 1783 to 1785 being the Notes of Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, M. P., one of the Commissioners during that period. Edited by Hugh Edward Egerton, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. Oxford, printed for Presentation to the Members of The Roxburghe Club, 1915*, pp. lv, 422.[5] Mrs. Reid not only printed this volume in memory of her husband (a member of the Roxburghe Club), but she also gave the original manuscripts on which it is based (from the Sir Thomas Phillipps sale of May 1913, no. 24424) to the New York Public Library. She generously presented a copy of the book to our Society also.

In connection with the claim of the Loyalist, Bernard Carey, Mrs. Reid's book carefully prints[6]

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[5]With Mrs. Reid's permission, the Controller of the Univ. Press, Oxford, has answered my questions as follows (from his records): 100 copies were originally printed in April 1915; of these 55 were lost when the "Arabic" was torpedoed, Aug. 19, 1915. To replace these the whole book was entirely reset and 55 copies reprinted (finished Feb. 1916) without any change whatever, but a special printed slip was inserted, referring to the loss and the reprinting but giving no dates or figures. I have given these letters to the N. Y. Public Library, to be kept with their copy of the book. There are *now* (Nov. 1920) further copies of the book in the following Libraries: Harvard Univ., Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston Athenæum, Yale Univ., N. Y. Hist. Soc., Grolier Club, Am. Geographical Soc., Johns Hopkins Univ., Library of Congress, Dept. of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution (Wash.), W. J. DeRenne Georgia Library (Savannah; cf. Ga. Historical Quarterly, II, 82), Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa). Only two of these (M. H. S. and L. C.) are recorded in J. T. Gerould's useful census of Roxburghe Club Publications in Am. Libraries (Papers & Proceedings of the Am. Library Institute, for 1917, pp. 169–178).

[6]Page 24, from MS. 1, 85.

the testimony, on Oct. 30, 1783, of our John Randolph, from which it appears that he was "Chairman of a Genl. Meeting of the American Loyalists out of whom a Committee was formed for the purpose of enquiring into the Claims of the Loyalists from that Province" i. e. Virginia. It is well known that Randolph went to England in (October), 1775; and it is also well known that Randolph's fondness for Virginia remained so strong that his dying wish was that he be buried there in the Chapel of William and Mary College, by the side of his father and brother—and his daughter Mrs. Wormeley, carried out this wish, as soon as practicable after his death in 1784.

We have recently learned that Randolph studied law in London, being admitted to the Middle Temple on Apr. 8, 1745, and was duly called to the bar on Feb. 9, 1750;[7] but almost nothing definite seems to be known about him during the whole period of his last residence in England, except that he spent some time at the Scotch house of Lord Dunmore, that he lived in straightened circumstances financially, receiving a pension of only a hundred pounds, and that he died at Brompton, London, Jan. 31, 1784. He was born in Virginia in 1727.

In the opinion of Washington he was probably the real author of those spurious *Letters from General Washington to several of his Friends in the Year 1776. In which are set forth a fairer and fuller View of American Politics than ever yet transpired, Or the Public could be made acquainted with through any other Channel.* published by J. Bew, London, in May or June, 1777, soon reprinted in America, and now accessible in Worthington C. Ford's standard *Writings of Washington,* and better still in his admirable later[8]

[7]cf. C. E. A. Bedwell's list of Am. Middle Templars, in Am. Hist. Rev. XXV, 683 (July 1920).

[8]The Spurious Letters attributed to Washington, with a Bibliographical Note by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Brooklyn, N. Y.: Privately Printed, 1889, pp. 166; 500 copies printed. The remainder of this publication of the Historical Printing Club is now for sale by the N. Y. Public Library.

separate edition with a valuable preface and full notes quoting similar but genuine passages. The object of this book was of course to show Washington's fondness for the mother country, or, as Washington himself expressed it[9] "to paint his inclinations as at variance with his professions and his duty;" but Col. Tench Tilghman, then in his military family and "well known to possess Washington's confidence" recorded in writing in 1778 that he suspected "Jack Randolph for the author, as the letters contain a knowledge of his family affairs that none but a Virginian could be acquainted with. The sentiments are noble, and such as the General himself often expresses. I have heard him declare a thousand times, and he does it every day in the most public company, that independence was farthest of anything from his thoughts, and that he never entertained the idea until he plainly saw that absolute conquest was the aim, and unconditional submission the terms which Great Britain meant to grant.[10]"

Historians can scarcely regard any forgery as a permissible means to any end, and yet, if Randolph did write the spurious Washington letters, his intentions were no doubt really good. For he constantly had much at heart the hope of a reconciliation between England and America, and the earnest desire to aid in bringing it about as soon as possible. Ford calls attention to a manuscript at Drayton House, Northamptonshire, in the possession of the family of Lord George Germaine, dated 4 August, 1780, unsigned but endorsed "Mr. Randolph's Plan of Accomodation" as being "undoubtedly drawn up and submitted to the British ministry by the loyalist

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[9]This expression is here quoted from Washington's formal repudiation of the spurious letters in the form of a letter to the then Secr. of State, Timothy Pickering, dated: 3 March 1797. Ford (Sp. Letters, p. 26) says that it "is written by Timothy Pickering, and merely signed by the President." Various other comments by Washington to similar effect are also quoted by Ford, e. g. pp. 11, 13, 15, 24, 26.

[10]Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, Valley Forge, 24 April 1778, quoted by Ford, Writings of Washington IV, 134, and Spurious Letters p. 32.

refugee from Virginia."[11] Some such political accommodation was the avowed object of the letter of 1779, which I am about to read. Randolph may also have written the anonymous pamphlet *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia, Printed in the Year M,DCC,LXXIV*, just reprinted by the Bibliographer of Virginia, Earl Gregg Swem,[12] from the only known copy (in the New York Public Library) on the title-page of which his name as author is written in an apparently contemporary hand. Randolph's 1779 letter says "I put my own thoughts in Writing that I might see how they would stand on paper," but it makes no mention of their publication. Is not this omission perhaps significant? There is at least no striking resemblance between the letter and the (earlier) pamphlet.

Though Jefferson was seventeen years younger than Randolph, they had been very intimate friends for many years, and he remained a close friend of the family after Randolph's death. In 1771 Jefferson recorded in amusingly ultra-formal style an agreement with Randolph whereby, if Jefferson died first, then Randolph was to get £800 worth of Jefferson's books; but if Randolph died first, then Jefferson was to get Randolph's violin and music or £60 worth of his books! When they approached the parting of the political ways Jefferson wrote to Randolph, 25 Aug. 1775; "Looking with fondness towards a reconciliation with Grt. Britain, I cannot help hoping you may

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[11]Ford, Sp. Letters p. 34. No doubt the reference is to Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, 9th Report, Part III, Appendix (1884) p. 103. The new edition entitled: Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the MSS. in the possession of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville of Drayton House, Northamptonshire, vol. II (1910) p. 174 states further that the Randolph MS (marked also "Brompton Row") forms 22 pages.

[12]Considerations on the Present State of Virginia, attributed to John Randolph, Attorney General, and Considerations on the Present State of Virginia Examined by Robert Carter Nicholas, Edited by Earl Gregg Swem, Assist. Librarian, Va. State Libr., Sixty-three copies printed for Charles F. Heartman, in New York City, 1919 (Heartman's Historical Series No. 32). Swem's Preface refers to Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biogr. XV, 149 (Oct. 1907) besides Conway's Edm. Randolph, and the Recollections of Ralph Randolph Wormeley, Rear-Admiral, R. N., N. Y. 1879 (priv. pr.) cf. also Am. Hist. Ass. Ann. Rept. for 1892 p. 115.

be able to contribute towards expediting the good work." and "It would be certainly unwise, by trying the event of another campaign, to risk our accepting foreign aid, which, perhaps, may not be obtainable, but on condition of everlasting avulsion from Great Britain. This would be thought a hard condition, to those who still wish for reunion with their parent country. I am sincerely one of those, and would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any other nation on earth, or than on no nation. But I am one of those, too, who rather than submit to the rights of legislation for us, assumed by the British parliament, and which late experience has shown they will so cruelly exercise, would lend my hand to sink the whole Island in the ocean." Later, on Nov. 29, 1775, when Randolph had sailed at last for England, Jefferson wrote to him again, but more sternly. Both these letters were printed in Jefferson's *Writings* in 1829, and are now so readily accessible as to make further quotation here superfluous.

Randolph's Loyalist attitude of course made him intensely unpopular with the Virginia patriots. Mrs. Randolph assures us[13] that "Americans did come down to Williamsburg with an intent to hang him, but were prevented: He had done everything in his power to oppose their measures;" and the new 1779 letter refers expressly to "the Insults I receiv'd" and "the unmanly & illiberal Treatment, which the more delicate Part of my Family met with"—which shows that his wife and two daughters had not been spared. It is therefore a real tribute to Randolph's high

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[13]Page 611 of vol. 58 (from vol. 54 of the originals) of the N. Y. Public Library Transcripts of the Audit Office (P. R. O.) papers on Am. Loyalist claims. cf. C. M. Andrews, Guide to the Materials for Am. Hist. to 1783 in the Public Record Office, II, 259-263 (Carnegie Institution, Wash. 1914). Pp. 607-616 give the Memorial of Mrs. Ariana Randolph, dated Feb. 20, 1784, and also her Evidence on Jan. 31, 1786. I have accepted her statement that her husband quitted Virgina in Oct. 1775 and arrived in England in Nov., but the further statement that he died on June 30, 1784 is certainly a clerical error, for the Gentleman's Magazine of Feb. 1784 (p. 152) recorded his death at Brompton on Jan. 31st, as usually given. Possibly Jan. 30th may be the correct date. He must have been dead *before* her Memorial was written, Feb. 20th.

character and manliness that when it was feared that Lord Dunmore might send to Mt. Vernon to seize the wife of the new American Commander-in-Chief, Lund Washington wrote to the General: "Surely her old acquaintance, the Attorney, who with his family is on board his ship, would prevent his doing any act of that kind."[14]

We now come at last to the new letter from Randolph to Jefferson, written in October, 1779. I need merely add that the original cover is addressed to: "His Excellency Thomas Jefferson Esq. Governor of Virginia," and that the MS. is accompanied by a memorandum dated April 23d, 1840, reading: "I found this letter amongst the papers of Sir Edward Walpole K. B., directed to His Excellency Thomas Jefferson, &c." and signed: J. W. Keppel. Evidently it had never left England, and remained there unknown.

The actual words are new, but the sentiments sound, *mutatis mutandis*, strangely similar to much that has been written during the present War.

Dear Sr.

The Letters, with which you some considerable Time ago, honour'd me, got to Hand; tho' from their appearance, their Contents were known to many, before they reach'd the Person, for whom they were intended. The gloomy Cloud, which hung over our public affairs, & the general Suspicion, which prevail'd at that Time, recommended Caution, & prevented my answering them. But, as matters *now* are fully understood, & the Ultimatum seems to be fix'd between the contending Parties; if *You* are not unwilling to read, *I* am under no Apprehension, in delivering my Sentiments to you.

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[14]Ford's Writings of Washington III,278;also in Sparks III,196 (who reads:"an act"). Probably it was the fact that Randolph and his family were on the same ship with Lord Dunmore at this time which led to the current statement that they all returned to England together. As noted above Mrs. Randolph testified that her husband and family had left Virginia in Oct. 1775, but Dunmore remained there for many months longer, as is proved by numerous documents.

Mr. J. Power,[15] who is just arriv'd from Virginia, informs me, that you have been lately elected Successor to Mr Henry, who presided over your Colony for three Years, the utmost successive Time allow'd for holding that office. I must take the Liberty to say, that your Constituents could not have chosen a man of greater abilities to conduct their affairs, than you possess; & permit me to add my Hope, that Futurity may speak as favourably of your Moderation.

If a Difference in opinion, was a good Ground for an Intermission of Friendship, Mankind might justly be said to live in a State of Warfare; since the Imperfection of human knowledge, has render'd Mens Minds as various, as the Author of their Being has shap'd their Persons. The Man who condemns another, for thinking differently from himself, sets up his Judgment as the Standard of Conception; wounds the great Liberty we enjoy, of thinking for ourselves; & tyrannizes over the Mind, which Nature intended should be free & unconfin'd. *That* Tyrant, I can not suppose *You*, to be. The Liberality of Sentiment, which ever distinguish'd you amongst your acquaintance, when you were upon a Level with them, has not I hope, forsaken you since you have been rais'd to a Sphere, which has made you, superior to them. Should I therefore be so unfortunate, as to make any observations, which may not meet with your approbation, for the Honour of your Understanding, treat them with Benignity. I will allow you in such Case, to consider them, as the overflowings of a mind, too zealous in the Cause in which it is engaged; but I must demand of you to admit, that they are the legitimate offspring, of an uncorrupted Heart. But, before you pass Sentence, I shall call on your Candour, to give them a fair Hearing.

When our unhappy Dispute commenc'd, (tho it arose from Circumstances, which left an opening for an honourable accomodation, yet) I saw that it was big with Mischief, & portended Ruin & Desolation, *Somewhere*. I thought that it behov'd me to reflect with the utmost Deliberation, on the Line of Conduct, which I ought to pursue, on so critical an Occasion. I clear'd every avenue to Information, & laid myself open to Conviction, let it come from what Quarter it

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[15]Evidently this is "Jack Power, Esq.," of Tappahannock, Essex Co., who left Va. in June 1779 and arrived in London in Oct., via Holland, according to his Memorial & Evidence among the Audit Office papers on Am. Loyalist claims. cf. N. Y. Public Library Transcripts vol. 59, pp. 98-105 (from vol. 56 of the original) cf. note 13, above. Power states that he had practised law from 1763 to 1774 when his practice had ceased due to his unpopularity as Loyalist;and that he lost" a very good Library and Book cases supposed at £200." He appears as witness in the Reid Roxburghe Club vol. p. 35 from MS. I, 135. Perhaps he was related to James Power on whom there is a note in the Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biogr. XV, 381 (April 1908).

wou'd. I read with avidity every thing which was published on the Subject & I put my own Thoughts in Writing, that I might see how they wou'd stand on Paper. I found myself embarrass'd by a thousand Considerations, acting in direct opposition to each other. In this Situation I had no Resource left but to submit myself solely to the Dictates of my Reason. To that impartial tribunal I appeal'd. *There* I receiv'd Satisfaction; & from her Decision, I am determin'd never to depart.

Si fractus illabatur Orbis,
Impavidum ferient Ruinæ[16]

Adversity is a School, in which few Men wish to be educated; yet, it is a Source, from whence the most useful Improvements, may be derived. When the Mind shrinks not from its approach, it offers a Season for Reflection, calls forth the Powers of the Understanding fixes its Principles & inspires a Fortitude, which shews the true Dignity of Man. In that School I have been tutored; from its Tuition I have drawn those advantages; & I am unalterably resolved, that all other Motives shall give way, to the fullest & most *unequivocal* Enjoyment of them.

The Insults I receiv'd from a People (whose Interest I always considered as my own)—unrestrained by the Influence of Gentlemen of Rank gave me much Uneasiness: But, the unmanly & illiberal Treatment, which the more delicate Part of my Family met with, I confess, fill'd me with the highest Resentment. As there is Nothing which I forget so soon as an Injury; & as animosity never rankles in my Bosom, I have cast the whole into oblivion. There let it lie buried; for Implacability belongs only to the unworthy.

Independence, it is agreed on all Hands, is the fix'd Purpose of your Determination. Annihilation is preferable to a Reunion with Great Britain. To support this desirable End, you have enter'd into an alliance with France & Spain, to reduce the Power of this Country, & make Way for the Glory of America. What effect this Connection will have on you, or this Kingdom, Time alone can discover; But be it remembered, that France is perfidious, Spain insignificant, & Great Britain formidable. The united Fleets of the House of Bourbon, lately cover'd the Seas, & paraded off Plymouth. A Descent was threaten'd, & universally expected. The british Fleet was then in a distant Part of the Channel, & there was nothing remain'd to defend this Kingdom, but the internal Strength & Valour of its Inhabitants. The Space of three Days remov'd the alarm, by producing a fruitless Departure

[16]Horace, Carmina, Bk. 3, Ode 3, lines 7, 8.

of this mighty Squadron. Soon after this, the two fleets came in Sight of each other, (a great Superiority in Number lying on the Side of the Enemy) & a bloody Carnage was expected to follow. The british Fleet in the Evening, form'd themselves into a Line of Battle & brought to, imagining that the combin'd Fleet, wou'd in the Morning begin the attack; but when that Period arrived, there was not an Enemy to be seen, from any one of our Ships. On which, our Fleet steer'd into Port, & there has continued unmolested, ever since. Individual Ships have been taken, but all our valuable Fleets from every Quarter of the Globe, for the present year, are arriv'd in Safety; yet, our Ports are filled with French & Spanish Ships, & our Gaols with their Subjects.

Admiral Keppels Engagement off Brest about 15 months ago, tho' a shameful one, as he had it in his Power to strike a Decisive Blow & omitted it, was converted into a meer Party Business here. His Conduct is now, very generally reprobated; The City of London has withheld the Golden Box, which the Rage of Party had prepared as a Present for him. Yet ill as he is supposed to have behav'd, the french Fleet sustain'd such Damage on that Occasion, that it did not come out of Port, for near a twelve Month after. History does not furnish us with Instances of greater acts of Heroism, than have been exhibited in the Course of the last Summer, in some of our naval Engagements. National Party is very much on the Decline, & the Safety of the State, seems to supercede all other Considerations.

The Junction of the Spaniards, was more a matter of Joy in England, than a Terror. The fingering of their Gold, is no small object with a commercial People. When his Catholic Majesty's Rescript was deliver'd at St. James's; & became known, instead of lowering, the Stocks immediately took a Rise. And the Dutch, who have already an immense Property in our Funds are still buying in, notwithstanding the various Difficulties, with which this Kingdom is surrounded. This S^r is a Short, but true Narrative of the State of british affairs, in Europe.

It must be confess'd, that the French have gain'd advantages in the West Indies; but it may be observ'd, that they have recover'd no more than what they lost in the last war. In Contests between great Nations, Events must be uncertain, & no Party can expect an uninterrupted Series of Success. Disappointments sometimes beget Exertions, which may give a new Face to affairs. When the Troops, which are to be sent for the Protection of our Islands, arrive, & the Ships are on float, which the succeeding Spring will produce, there will unfold to us, Truths, about which, we at present, may form

very different Ideas. The French may boast of their Prowess in Destaings Engagement with Barrington, but few think here, that the Glory of the british Navy was in any Degree diminished in that Encounter.

How far the French have been useful to you in America, you must be better qualified to determine, than myself: Yet, I cannot avoid expressing my Wish, that you had never entered into any Engagements with them. They are a People cover'd with Guile, & their Religion countenances the Practice of it on all of a different Persuasion. They are educated in an Aversion to the English & hold our Constitution in the utmost Detestation. They have the art to insinuate, & the Wickedness to betray when they gain an admittance. Laws they have none, but such as are prescrib'd by the Will of their Prince. This is their only Legislature. They know your Coast, are acquainted with your Manners, & no Doubt have made Establishments amongst you, A Footing in ye Northern Province is what they most devoutly wish to obtain. As a means to effect their Purpose, they have suffered you to run in Debt to them, & as a Security for the Payment of it, they say that your Lands are answerable. If you are not able to satisfy their Demands, how will you have it in your Power to frustrate this Claim? But if you are able to discharge the Debt, how will you recompense them, for the Services, which they will urge that they have rendered to you. Your Trade is of no Consequence, it is not an object with them. Nothing but a Partition of your Country will silence them. When that happens, you may bid adieu to all social Happiness; the little Finger of France will be more burthensome to you, than the whole weight of George the 3d his Lords & Commons. Can it be imagin'd that a Prince, who is a Tyrant in his own Dominions, can be a Friend to the Rights & Privileges of another People? Can it be Policy in him to waste his Blood Treasure, in reducing one Rival in order to raise another, more formidable perhaps, than his ancient Competitor? Your good Sense I am persuaded, will not suffer you to cherish such an opinion, & you cannot be so wanting in Discernment, as not to see the base Design of this treacherous Nation. If France engaged in this Quarrel, for no other Purpose, than to fight your Battles, & vindicate your injured Rights, her Generosity will lead her to confer all the Benefit of her Conquests, on you. When you become invested with the possession of their acquisitions, you may then believe them to be your Friends, but until that happens, you ought to consider their Designs as dangerous, & not suffer yourselves to be deceived by such an artful & despotic People. But let us suppose in theory, what, facts I am convinced will not verify, that the Powers now contending

with G. Britain are too great for it to withstand. What do you imagine will be the Sentiments of the other States of Europe on this Subject? These Potentates stand in such a Relation to each other, that as a Security to the whole, a Ballance of Power must be preserv'd amongst them. G. Britain has always held that Ballance. How dangerous a Neighbour w'd France become, if her principal opponent & the great arbiter of Europe should be overwhelm'd? The Empress of Russia sees with a jealous eye, the strides which the French are taking towards universal Monarchy. The King of Prussia is too old a soldier, to suffer a Rival to strengthen himself, on the Ruins of an old & natural ally. The Dutch are govern'd too much by their Interest to see it in Danger, & never to make an effort to preserve it. The Danes are the fast Friends of England. All these Nations wou'd have taken a decided Part long before this, had the Situation of G. Britain made it necessary: But the Truth is, our Councils are as vigorous, our Resources as great & the national Firmness as inflexible, as they have ever been, even in the most flourishing Periods recorded in the History of this Country. If you regard the assertions of a set of men, who are distinguish'd by the appellation of *the Opposition*, you must I own form a different opinion, from that which I have endeavour'd to inculcate. They will tell you that the Glory of England is pass'd away, its Treasures exhausted, & that the Kingdom stands on the Brink of inevitable Destruction, owing to the weakness & wickedness of administration. Believe not, my Friend, such Prophets. The Luxury of this Nation, & of Course its Expenses, are unbounded. These Excesses must unavoidably make Mankind necessitious. The Department of a Minister, is lucrative & alluring. The King, in order to silence the Clamour of Party, having frequently chang'd his Servants, has by this means excited an Idea, that Noise will aways procure a Removal of the Ministry. It is for this Reason, that they who have a Chance for the Sucession, ring such alarms thro the Nation, in order to throw an odium on them, & get them out of their Places; yet these very People who are the authors of so much Turbulence, don't think as they speak. Some join in the Cry; others suspend their opinions, till they receive more convincing Proofs; & a third, thinking that Government ought to be supported strengthen as far as they can, the Hand of their Rulers. But still, the great Machine moves on, the Ministry keep their Places, & look as if their Possession w'd be of long Duration. But a Change wou'd be of little Service to the Nation; for if it silenc'd one Party, it would open the Mouth of another; &

the Kingdom be just in the same Situation that it is in, at this Time, & has been for many years past.

If you form an opinion of our public affairs, by the Picture which is drawn of them in our daily Exhibitions, I acknowledge, that you must conceive my account of them to be, chimerical. But whoever wishes to avoid Error, must steer clear of an english Newspaper. There are of daily Papers publish'd in the year, 27.Millions. The Types, the Ink, the Paper & a Stamp distinctly pay a Duty to Government. Judge then what a Revenue these Publications must produce. It is for this Reason, that Ministry throw no Impediment in their Way; for punishing the Libels they contain, wou'd reduce their Number, & lessen of Course, the Emoluments arising from them. I have often thought, that the Toleration of such indecent Compositions, was a Reflection on Government but it is a Maxim in England, that as soon as Evil produces Good, it ceases to be an Evil.

The short Representation of the british affairs, which I have given you above, is intended to prepare you, for one important Question, momentous not only to America, & Great Britain, but to Europe in General: Wou'd it not be prudent, to rescind your Declaration of Independence, be happily reunited to your ancient & natural Friend, & enjoy a Peace which I most religiously think w'd pass all Understanding? I can venture to assure you, that your Independence, will never be acknowledg'd by the Legislative Authority of this Kingdom: The nation w'd not agree to such a Concession; & your suppos'd Friends who are so lavish in your Praise on other occasions, wou'd on this, be against you. Every Immunity, which you can reasonably ask for, will be granted to you; the rapacious Hand of Taxation will never reach you. Your Laws & Regulations will be establish'd on the solid Basis of the british Constitution; & your Happiness will be attended to, with all the Solicitude, which belongs to an affectionate Parent. Reflect, I beseech you, on what I have said. Let not the flattering Possession of Power, which may be wrested from you in a Moment, stand in Competition with the Good of your Country, which you have now an opportunity of making, as lasting as Time itself. But if you still persist in your Resolution, never to listen to the voice of Reconciliation, Remember, that I, who know your Situation, & wish you every Degree of Happiness, tell you, that what you take to be the End, will be only the Beginning of your political misfortunes.

I must now put a Period to a long letter, the writing of which, is a very unusual Labour to me. How you may receive it I know not. Be that as it will, I shall enjoy one Consolation, which is, a quiet Conscience. I see such Determination in

Government, to proceed to the last Extremity with you; such a Disposition in the Powers of Europe to go to War; & such Mischiefs hovering over America, that I shou'd think myself an Undutiful Son, & criminally guilty, if I did not impart to you, the Distress I feel on your account. Let our opinions vary as they will, I shall nevertheless retain a very sincere Regard for you. How far your Politics may be blended with your Friendships, I cannot tell; but as I have ever preserv'd my Esteem from improper Mixtures, I shall subscribe myself, nov as I always have done,

Dr. Sr.

Your very affectionate Friend &
humble Serv't

JOHN RANDOLPH

London.
Cannon Coffee House
Spring Gardens,
October 25, 1779

WILLIAM THORNTON AND NEGRO COLONIZATION

BY GAILLARD HUNT

IN the Caribbean Sea, stretching eastward from Porto Rico, lies a group of about one hundred small islands, some mere rocks in the sea furnishing no sustenance for human beings, and some of larger size where a few planters raise sugar and cotton. These are the Virgin Islands discovered by Christopher Columbus on his second voyage in 1494, and named by him in honor of the Eleven Thousand Virgin Martyrs of St. Ursula; but this pious name did not prevent them from being, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the favorite resort of those picturesque desperadoes, the pirates of the Spanish Main, who found in their numerous inlets and harbors which were dangerous to pursuing navigators a safe refuge from the consequences of their crimes. The largest of the islands is Tortola, the Turtle Dove, a beautiful little domain, twenty-four miles long and five miles wide, with rich valleys and a range of high hills. Travellers seldom go to Tortola now, planting is unprofitable, the island is almost deserted; but in the eighteenth century it flourished, and a few planters and numerous black slaves lived there prosperously and contentedly. In 1756 the whole population of the island was 460 white persons and 3,864 negro slaves.[1]

Chief among the planters was an English Quaker

[1]The Development of the West Indies, by Frank Wesley Pitman, Ph. D., Yale Historical Publications, 1917, p. 383.

named Thornton and over his household presided his young wife, Dorcas Downing Zeagurs.[2]

On May 27, 1761, their son William was born. I have fixed the year approximately by circumstantial evidence; for he never disclosed it and there are no vital statistics for Tortola. When William Thornton was two years old his father died, and when he was five he was sent to his father's relatives, his grandfather and aunts, in Lancashire, England, to be educated. In 1777, when he was sixteen, he was apprenticed to a Doctor Fell of Ulverstone, England, to learn the business of a doctor, who was also then an apothecary, a dentist and a phlebotomist. Thornton attended Doctor Fell's shop, learned to make boluses and plasters, how to bleed people and how to pull their teeth out, and before he left Doctor Fell he had earned several sixpences and shillings with his lancet and forceps. After three years with Doctor Fell he went to Edinburgh to take the finishing course in medicine for which the University at that city was famous. He entered in 1781 and took his degree in 1784. After a brief return to Tortola he went to Paris to continue his scientific studies and there he learned a great deal and made many pleasant acquaintances. By this time he had formed the definite idea that he was to be a leader in the world, but to obtain this leadership a large private fortune was needed and he determined to acquire it by marriage. In 1787 he came to America and made a considerable stay in Philadelphia and Wilmington. It was at this time that he addressed himself to Governor John Dickinson, of Delaware, and asked the hand of the Governor's daughter in marriage. The Governor was rich and had married an heiress himself, but he rejected Thornton's overtures because he thought his daughter was too young to marry, she being only sixteen years old. The lover could not

[2]Thornton Papers, Library of Congress MSS. Unless otherwise stated these papers are the authority for this paper.

wait for her to grow older, and went back to Tortola in April, 1788. He intended to settle in America, however, and had been naturalized as a citizen of Delaware on January 7, 1788. When he reached the West Indies he met another heiress, whose initials only have been preserved, Miss R. H., and became engaged to her. Shortly before the day set for their marriage she ran off with another man. This mortifying circumstance threw Thornton into a fever and he was very ill. As soon as he had recovered sufficiently to travel, he came back to America to mend his health and heart. Neither was permanently broken, for he was soon in good physical condition, and in October, 1790, within a year from the time he was jilted in the West Indies, he was married in Philadelphia to Anna Maria Brodeau. Two failures to secure heiresses had somewhat diminished his matrimonial ambitions, but his wife was not portionless. Her mother was a French woman, a widow of high social position in Philadelphia, clever and influential, and Thornton's position in Philadelphia, and afterwards in Washington, was strengthened by her support. Although her daughter was hardly older than Miss Dickinson was when the Governor rejected Thornton, Mrs. Brodeau was not afraid to entrust her happiness to Thornton's care. In fact, she was pleased with the match, for she saw that her son-in-law was a remarkable man, and she yielded, as others did, to his charm of manner and conversation, his sprightliness and enthusiasm which made him more like a Frenchman than an Englishman.

At the time of his marriage he was thirty years old, of medium height, with regular features, brown hair and English complexion, an aquiline nose, active in body and abnormally active in mind. There was hardly a man in America who had received a scientific education equal to his, for the Americans who studied abroad usually went through a classical course only, but Thornton, having received a rudimentary classical

education, had studied medicine and chemistry and then botany and other branches of natural science. The young man was no adventurer, nor was he penniless, for the plantation yielded him an income which was, however, not always certain. By nature he was a fearless idealist and believed that the New World would welcome plans and projects which in Europe would go unheeded.

In 1793 the American Philosophical Society awarded him the Magellanic gold medal for his essay entitled "*Cadmus*; or a Treatise on the Elements of Written Language, Illustrated by a Philosophical division of Speech, the power of each character, thereby mutually fixing the orthography and orthoepy, with an Essay on the mode of teaching the surd or deaf, and consequently dumb, to speak." It was a treatise upon the elements of written language and the application of a new system of letters and spelling to the teaching of the deaf to speak. Much of the argument has become familiar to later generations in the literature concerning Volapuk, Esperanto, simplified spelling and visible speech.[3]

Before Thornton attracted attention in this field he had become the patron, friend and coadjutor of John Fitch.[4] He made John Fitch's steamboat a success. Twenty years later he swore that Robert Fulton had stolen the plans of the boat. It was soon after his experiments with the steamboat began that he invented a steam cannon which drove twenty-four bullets successively in two minutes through a plank an inch thick, but this rapid-fire gun he considered to be more curious than useful. In 1792 his plans for

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[3]CADMUS, or a Treatise on the Elements of Written Language, Illustrated by a Philosophical Division of Speech, the Power of each character therby mutually fixing the Orthography and Orthoepy. Cur nescire, pudens prave, quam descire malo? Hors Ars. Poet. V. 88. With an Essay on the Mode of Teaching the Surd or Deaf and Consequently Dumb to Speak. By William Thornton, M.D., Member of the Societies of Scots Antiquaries of Edinburg and Perth; the Medical Society and the Society of Natural Hist of Edin. the American Philosophical Society, &c., Philadelphia, Printed by R. Aitken & Son, No. 22, Market Street, M.DCC.XCIII.

[4]William Thornton and John Fitch, by Gaillard Hunt, in The Nation, May 21, 1914.

the new Capitol building at Washington were accepted. He had previously designed the Philadelphia Library Building. Subsequently, he designed several other buildings including some beautiful private houses, a few of which are still standing. The history of his connection with the Capitol building has been written by Glenn Brown. A full account of William Thornton, the Architect, has yet to be written. He studied architecture for the first time when he drew the plans for the Capitol, but architecture was never more than a recreation with him. He gave up the practice of medicine before he left Philadelphia for Washington and never regularly resumed it. The fees were much smaller in this country than they were in the West Indies, but, apart from that, he felt an aversion for many branches of a general practitioner's duties, and in those days there were no specialists. He took an interest in agriculture and had a farm near Washington, but he never followed farming as a profession. He was a prolific writer, a printer of pamphlets, a contributor to the newspapers, and letters flowed from his pen in endless numbers, but he never wrote a book and he could not be called an author. His writings cover a bewildering multitude of subjects—negro colonization and emancipation, a national university, landscape gardening, somnambulism,[5] South American independence, the breeding of horses, city building, George Washington, to mention only a few. Of no circumstance in his life was he as proud as he was of Washington's friendship. The intimate association began in Philadelphia in 1792 and when Tobias Lear ceased to be Washington's private Secretary the following year Thornton aspired to succeed him. The President's reply to him saying he had chosen his wife's kinsman, Bartholomew Dandridge, was warm and friendly in tone. Washington appointed him a Commissioner of the new federal

[5]See in *Harper's Weekly* for Oct. 1, 1910, "The Remarkable Case of William Kemble," based on one of Thornton's papers.

district in 1794, moved to the selection, doubtless, because he wished him to have oversight of the construction of the building he had designed, because he believed him to be a genius in planning generally, and because he had confidence in him and a personal liking for him. He and Commissioner Thornton tramped together over the ten miles square and he lent a willing ear to Thornton's projects, liking them none the less because many of them were Utopian. Thornton told him how a philosophical society must be founded; how there must be a national university on a novel plan which should include mechanical as well as classical and scientific education; how there must be an agricultural institution on a comprehensive scale—that government, art, science, learning, mechanics, husbandry, all must have their central point in the new city which this modern Cadmus hoped to build.

Thornton fairly revelled in the intimacy with Washington. He wrote to his friends in England about it; he planned to become Washington's Boswell and to record his daily sayings and doings; but he appears to have abandoned the idea—at any rate he has left us no notes to indicate that he even started to carry it out. The friendly letters which Washington and the family at Mt. Vernon wrote him survive as conclusive proof that he did not exaggerate his position. At Washington's request he wrote out his ideas on the subject of the national university and they were printed in 1796 under the title "Public Education." He designed the General's handsome house on North Capitol Street between B and C streets, and supervised the building, being often intrusted by Washington with large sums of money to pay for the work as it progressed. He helped Washington's nephew, Lewis, in planning his country house. Mrs. Washington appealed to him on occasion as a physician and often intrusted him with those

small household commissions which are a sure sign of intimacy.

After Thornton had served as Commissioner of the District of Columbia for five years, the office was abolished and he became Superintendent of the Patent Office, then under the Department of State, serving from 1802 up to the time of his death in 1827. His activities as a citizen were numerous. He served as a justice of the peace; was an officer in the militia; was one of the founders of the Columbian Institution, the first society for mental improvement organized in Washington; he was one of the organizers of the Washington Assemblies in 1800, the first effort to give form to the society of the place; he painted amateur portraits; he wrote verses; he entertained a great deal. He became interested in South American politics and was a correspondent of several of the leaders in the struggle for SouthAmerican independence. In 1815 he printed a pamphlet entitled "Outlines of a Constitution for United North and South Columbia, Addressed to the Citizens of North and South Columbia"—a fantastic plan for uniting the whole Western Hemisphere under one government with the capital on the Isthmus of Darien. He wanted to be a minister to one of the South American republics.

He was a contentious man, and the habit grew on him as he grew older. He was a writer of long, explanatory, circumstantial letters, all true enough but doubtless wearisome to receive. He quarreled with his fellow Commissioners of the District, with Fulton over the steamboat, with Latrobe over the Capitol. He importuned Congress on many subjects, the Secretary of State over the Patent Office, the President on Appointments to office and public questions. He became a man with grievances and claims. I have read a great many of these letters and they seem convincing that he was right. Nevertheless, I can imagine how sorry his correspondents were

to receive them, how reluctantly they read them, and how difficult they found it to answer them, knowing, as they did, that he would be sure to write more long letters in reply.

He was an unconquerable man and he never grew old. When he died on March 28, 1828, at the age of 67, he was still planning, still contending, still hoping for that leadership and success which he had resolved should be his when he started out in life.

I have said that Thornton wrote on negro colonization and emancipation, and his connection with this subject I shall now develop by several of his surviving papers.

I must turn first to another West Indian, who like Thornton was born in the Virgin Islands, who was also a Quaker, a physician, an emancipationist and a scientist of varied accomplishments and great curiosity. John Coakley Lettsom had already made his mark in London when Thornton came upon the scene, being some seventeen years older than Thornton, and to him Thornton appealed for assistance in his plans for helping the negroes to be free and the free negroes to become useful members of society.[6] For Thornton's benefit Lettsom obtained an account from Granville Sharp of his experiment at Sierra Leone. Granville Sharp was a philanthropist and pamphleteer, a sympathizer with the American Revolution, a friend of General Oglethorpe and a most effective friend of the negroes. It was he, in fact, who brought about the litigation in England which resulted in the British declaration that a slave became free as soon as he landed on British soil. Sharp's letter of October 13, 1788, to Doctor Lettsom, told how Sierra Leone had been bought for a trifling sum from King Tom, a negro chief. The King not only sold his territory but his subjects as well. He was in the slave trade, and did, in fact, sell some of the free negro colonists when their

[6]Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late John Coakley Lettsom, M.D., LL.D., etc., by Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, F. L. S. London, 1817.

number became few and they could not resist him. To Sierra Leone, Sharp and several others, with the aid of the British Government, sent some four hundred wretched negroes early in 1787. They were the remnant of those American slaves who had been incorporated into the British Army and Navy during the American Revolution, besides some runaways who had found refuge in London. They started on the voyage much debilitated by long waiting on shipboard and by drunkenness from the rum which was served to them as a part of their rations. Only two hundred and seventy-six got to Sierra Leone. A few months later only one hundred and thirty of these were still in the Colony.

Doctor Lettsom's friend, Henry Smeathman,[7] a scientific explorer who had lived for several years on the West Coast of Africa, was the originator of the Sierra Leone experiment, and when Thornton heard in 1786 that Smeathman intended to visit Africa he wrote to Lettsom, Nov. 18, 1786, that he would like to go with him. He said that he wished to emancipate the slaves on the plantation in Tortola, but as only half of them, some seventy or eighty, belonged to him he would have to take his slaves away. Where could he send them? To their own country, naturally, but in that country some one must protect them from their relatives, the natives, and from their own helplessness. Thornton wished to be that protector. Before removing his slaves from Tortola he intended to allot to them some land and require them to pay him for it gradually before they were emancipated. He hoped in this way to arouse in them habits of independence. He said that in Africa a commonwealth should be founded. He worked out his plan in detail. It

[7]Smeathman wrote: Plan of Settlement to be made near Sierra Leone on the Grain Coast of Africa, intended more particularly for the service and happy establishment of Blacks and People of Colour to be shipped as freemen under the Direction of the Committee for Relieving the Black Poor, and under the Protection of the British Government. By Henry Smeathman, Esq., who has resided in that country nearly four years. London 1786.

included, as he was then a Quaker, disarming the inhabitants and the making of inviolable treaties of peace with all the world. His activities extended to the free negroes in America. He told Lettsom, February 15, 1787, that he found many free negroes in Rhode Island who were desirous of going to the Guinea Coast and who approved of his project to transport them thither. He learned that there were a great many free blacks in Boston. The American blacks were anxious to know if Sierra Leone was a British colony or an independent settlement. If it was a colony they would not go, but if it was independent they would go and Thornton would go with them. They changed his plans by insisting upon the right to carry arms for their self-defense; otherwise they might be captured and reduced to slavery again. Thornton could get 2,000 to go with him. The blacks in Newport were organized as the "Union Society", and more than seventy had signed as ready to join him. Going to Boston he grew warmer in his plans. May 20, 1787, he wrote that hundreds were ready to go from that place. He discussed his project with Samuel Adams, who approved of it. Thornton wished to dedicate himself to "this grand affair," as he called it. Returning to Philadelphia in July, 1788, he was still full of his black commonwealth, but the expedition to Sierra Leone having sailed, he would wait to hear how it turned out. If it failed he would organize another expedition. If it succeeded his American blacks would join the new settlers. They would go in prodigious numbers if the settlement was free and not a colony. The free blacks had petitioned the legislature of Massachusetts for vessels and equipment to take them to Africa. If it was necessary, Thornton would fit out transports himself for that purpose. In 1789 began his correspondence on the subject with the French emancipation society, "Les Amis des Noirs," but he appears to have derived only moral encouragement from that source. He thought he

could do more good in Africa than he could anywhere else on the globe, but he must have the "superintendence of the undertaking." (To Lettsom Nov. 13, 1789.) He was then a bachelor, and had no ties to deter him from personal risk. On June 15, 1790, he was still ardent for his plan. After that we hear no more of his desire to go to Africa. He was married in October of that year. His attention was now engrossed by his explorations in the elements of written language. He was writing a dictionary of the English language, giving all the roots of words and their true spelling, which had never been properly given. By 1794 he was telling Lettsom about the new capital, which he thought would be "one of the most elegant cities in the world." (January 8, 1795.)

When Thornton was deep in his colonization plans he laid them before Samuel Adams, as we have seen, and he approved of them, and he found encouragement and assistance from James Madison who wrote out for him certain considerations which he incorporated in his letter to the President of the "Société des Amis des Noirs."

J. DOTY TO WILLIAM THORNTON

[Tortola] [1786]

Dear Sir

I informed you I would transmit to you early intelligence of the determination of the members of the House of Assembly on your address to them, and the letter to me which accompanied it. I yesterday submitted both to them, and according to the usual form, the further consideration of the Subject matter was ordered for the next meeting. In the mean-time it may not be improper to state to you, the Ideas which this Subject seems to have given rise to, in the minds of some of the members. It is not extraordinary that a plan, which has for its object, the establishing a Colony of free blacks, in a tropical climate, for the purpose of Cultivating the usual articles which are the produce of the West Indies, and promoting the Interests of Freedom among those people, should not be a very popular one in this Country. And some of the members of the Assembly seem to be of opinion that such an establishment

should it be carried into effect and be successful, will eventually be highly injurious to the Interests of the West India Islands, and therefore ought not to be countenanced by them. There are some other Gentlemen, who seem desirous of knowing, to whom the Colony intended to be established at Sierra Leone is to be made Subject; whether it is to be absolutely a dependency of Great Britain, or whether it is intended to be only placed under the protection of that power, and as to matters of Government, Commerce, &c to remain in a state of Independency. I must confess it appears to me, that a discussion of this subject at large, in this, or any other of the Islands, will be a fruitless, and futile, undertaking, as the establishing, and ultimate existence and success of such Colony, will depend upon causes, which these Islands can very little Influence or control, but were this not the case, I can conceive that the establishment of a Colony of free people of colour in Africa, may not only, not be injurious to the Interests of the West India Islands, but may even be rendered beneficial to them, for if to the free Blacks who it is intended shall be removed from North America to Africa, the plan is so extended as that the free people of colour in the Islands may be added, the community without an Act of injustice might be disencumbered of a class of people, who it is universally acknowledged are highly injurious to its Interests. These people are, in the Islands, in a situation more ineligible than they are on the Continent of North America, and probably would most willingly emigrate to another Country whose policy would not make it necessary to restrict them, in the rights of Citizenship. In the Islands they can scarcely be said legally to possess any visible permanent property, in some of them they are not allowed to possess the smallest quantity of Land in fee, nor beyond a very small number of Slaves, and in others where they are permitted by Law to hold a small quantity of Land in fee, they are prohibited from planting any, but certain Articles of cultivation. In this Island, their legal right to hold property within it, is a more liberal one than in most others, but even here, they cannot possess more than eight Acres of Land, nor more than fifteen Slaves. In one of the Windward Islands of this government it is at present or was lately in contemplation, to pass a Law, prohibiting any free person of Colour, from keeping a Huckstering shop, and from retailing Rum and other spirituous liquors, in any of the Towns in the Island, and as this business has hitherto constituted a principal object of employment with these people, should such a Law pass the Legislature, many of them will be deprived of the means of subsistence, at least until they have adopted some other object of employment. They are not eligible to

the holding any publick office of trust, or profit, in many of the Islands, nor have they a Vote in the election of any publick officer, and in some of the Islands (particularly in the foreign) they are prohibited from following any but certain Trades and employments. In the French Islands their situation is much worse than in the English, if the late revolution in the government, has not operated to their advantage, and in the Danish & Dutch, they are but little removed from mere Slaves.

Without reasoning as to the Justice of the distinction which is universally made between the white Inhabitants and the free people of colour, and the very great distance at which the Law has placed the one from the other, it is sufficient that the policy of the West Indies, will never suffer these poor people to emerge from their present humble state, or to possess the equal rights of free Citizenship. To these causes, and their consequent poverty it is to be attributed that in general in the Islands, they are an Idle, profligate Race, and very Injurious to the Interests of the rest of the Community of which they are Members, and they probably will ever remain so, until they are placed in a situation, where they can enjoy the rights and immunities of free citizens. Where the right of possessing property to any extent, may operate as a spur to the acquiring it by an exertion of honest industry, and where, finding a fair reputation will be an essential prerequisite in the acquirement of office, and the good opinion of the Community, it will be their Interest to be careful of their moral conduct, and to preserve a decent appearance.

The House of Assembly stands adjourned to tuesday next, on which day, or at any subsequent meeting, I shall be happy in communicating to the members, any further information on this Subject, which you shall think proper and necessary to be submitted to their consideration.

I am
Sir
with great Respect
Your most obedient Servant
J Doty

Friday Morning

Doctor Thornton

General Outlines of a Settlement on the Coast of Africa particularly that part under the Appellation of the Tooth-Ivory Coast. In the Language of the Blacks *Quaqua*.—[by Thornton].

This part of the Coast is chosen because it enjoys as good Air as any of the Windward Coast, is not so subject to pestilential Fevers as the Grain Coast, because it does not contain large Rivers.[8]

It does not abound so much with Minerals as the Gold Coast, therefore the Water will probably be better. It is equally luxuriant with any part, for Nature providing always with a Bountiful Hand has placed there the largest Animals with which we are Acquainted, (the Elephant), and the Sugar Cane grows there, naturally, in the most rich manner as Food for them. The Natives are much more numerous than on any other place on the Windward Coast, for they have generally been more peaceable, and have not yet got into the refined Species of Traffic i. e. for Men.

The European powers have no Forts there, & cannot on that Account be jealous of a Settlement that promises not to interfere with their immediate Views. They could be supplied with Grain on one side, and Gold Dust for a medium in Traffic on the other.

1. The Country must be visited, and Lands purchased of the Natives, making a Settlement in a peaceable manner.

2. The Courts of England, France, & the States of America to be visited that a Treaty of Commerce with them & the Africans may be established. This Treaty not to exclude them from a free Trade with any other power, or with the whole World: And that any Vessel which may be built in Africa or owned there, shall have free admittance into the ports which receive their Commodities. If any power shall encroach upon the Liberties of the Settlement the most formal & fixed Resolution shall be taken never more to trade with that power till Restitution be made, and the other powers in treaty will doubtless protect from Insults their commercial Allies. The Americans having no Settlement in the torrid Zone would be much benefitted by such a Treaty. No power would ever be jealous, as this Settlement would be one founded in perfect peace, and therefore incapable of assuming or dictating to any other. The Articles of Commerce would be, to Europe, Cotton, Indigo, Gold Dust, Ivory, Gums, Dying Wood, Drugs & Spices; to America the same with the addition of Sugar & its products; Cocoa, Coffee &c. as they have no Colonies that would interfere with such productions, and as their chief dependence is on the Agriculture of their own Country, might be supplied with some Manufactures of Africa.

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[8]There are instances where the Rivers on the Grain Coast have risen during the Rainy Season 150 feet perpendicular from the Bed and when the Sun dries them up the Stench is intolerable.—Bennett. [Note in the MS].

3. Blacks who are now free in America & Europe, or who may be made free in the West Indies hereafter, to be taken to the New Settlement carrying with them such Utensils as will be requisite to cultivate the Lands, and also to form the necessaries of Life. The West India Negroes will be well acquainted with the culture of Sugar, Cotton, Indigo, Cocoa, Ginger, Coffee, Rice, Corn, (Indian & Guinea) and raising such live Stock as is peculiarly adapted to the torrid Zone. The Negroes of the Northern Countries, who have been amongst Christians (a sect which the poor West India Negroes know little of, except by Name) would be easily induced to live a regular Life, and by their Example the rest, as well as the Natives, might become a sober religious People. The northern Negroes too, by the Example of Industry which they have been accustomed to behold in the lower Classes of the White Inbabitants of those Countries would easily, by introducing their acquired Habits & Customs, bring to Industrious Lives the ignorant & slothful of the warm Country of Africa.

4. The Lands already purchased from the Natives might be divided into portions or Estates according to the number of their Family. These might be taxed in a very light degree, for the support of—

5. Schools & religious Houses, which are to be raised by the public Stock.

6. Such a Trade might be opened with the Africans that into this Settlement great Riches would be drained from the other parts, and the European Powers, particularly Great Britain & France and also the States of America, would find their Advantage in opening an extensive Commerce with it.

7. A Code of Laws to be framed for the mutual good of each Member of the Community which Code must be signed by every Individual, and executed by the Sentence of a Majority of Judges, a Jury, or single Judge, according to the nature of the Crime and Circumstances.

8. That such valuable Vegetable productions, as do not naturally grow in that part of Africa, be imported to the most proper nurseries appointed for the general Good of the Community, and their culture could then be extended with the demand.

9th To buy the Slaves that are brought from different parts and more fully to answer the purpose particular Ships may be stationed upon the Coast to receive them, and prevent their being offered to trading Vessels, and to free every person thus purchased, making him a member of the Community and giving equal privileges with the rest. If he have a Wife, or she a Husband, or they have Children or Friends in the

Country whence they were brought, by having permission to return and invite such Friends or any other persons to this Settlement of Peace, and paying their own Ransom by working or by Commerce, with Interest, the Community would increase rapidly, and as any province is rich only by the number of its Inhabitants such a Settlement would doubtless soon acquire an immense property. By this mode Thousands would annually be rescued from the most oppressive slavery, or Death, would be adopted into a Family of Peace on Earth, and taught Doctrines of Him, the King of Kings who has promised peace to his followers, in Heaven. The price which each would give for his Freedom would so much exceed any Sum that could be offered with Advantage by the Slave Traders, that in a little time the Traffic would cease. What heavenly pleasure must dilate every Breast that has been instrumental in delivering from oppression the poor defenceless Captive, and restoring tranquillity to his Family. The power that created you as Instruments would never leave you! What happiness awaits him who calls a Soul from Bondage under the promise of the most high, but my Friends what infinity of happiness shall be theirs who deliver from bondage & call unto Christ so many Thousand Souls!

W. T.

To the Black Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, assembled at one of their stated Meetings in Philadelphia. [Draft by Thornton].

It is in Contemplation by the English to make a free Settlement of Blacks on the Coast of Africa, which they have already begun, and have purchased a Tract of Land twenty Miles square at Sierra Leone for the intended Settlers.[9] They are desirous of knowing if any of the Blacks of this Country be willing to return to that Region which their Fathers originally possessed, and finding many in Boston, Providence and Rhode Island very desirous of embarking for Africa, wish also to be informed if any of the Blacks in Pennsylvania are inclined to settle there. They would on landing be entitled to Estates, or certain Tracts of Land, and possess them for ever.

The Place intended for this Settlement is at the mouth of the River of Sierra Leone, which is navigable back 240 Miles. It is situated in about 10 Degrees East Long: of Tenerif, and 8 Deg: North Lat: Sir George Young of the British Navy who visited this Place gives the following Account of it. "St. George's Bay, in which the first Township is formed, is,

[9]See Substance of the Report delivered by the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company to the General Court of Propietors on Thursday the 27th March, 1794. London, 1794.

without exception, as fine a Harbour as any in the World; that the Mountains abound with Brooks of fresh Water; and are covered with the most noble Forests of all kinds of Timber, and with perpetual verduer; that when he ascended those Mountains, and looked about him he had never been so agreeably struck before with beautiful Landscapes of Wood and Water; and that he found the Air so cool upon the Mountain that he could have borne his great Coat with pleasure."

The Blacks who form this Settlement should be a free and independent People, governed by their own Laws, and by Officers of their own election. Their Ports would be open to trade with the whole World, whereby they would have the Advantage of procuring every thing at the cheapest Rate, which would not be the Case were the Settlement monopolized as a dependent Colony, by any power either of Europe or America; but it is imagined the Slave Trade will be soon abolished, and that the Europeans and Americans will co-operate in the establishment of this laudable Undertaking.

It is requested that those who may be disposed to embark for Africa will sign their Names, Ages, Trades and Families, &c., in the following, or a similar manner.

Names Ages Trades Families

The immediate Exports from Africa to Europe would be Gold Dust, Ivory, Cotton, Dying Woods, Gums, Drugs, Spices, Fruits and Preserves, Wood for Cabinets, &c. Oil of Palms &c, Indigo, Tobacco, Rice and Wax; to America the same, except the four last Articles, but with the Addition of Cocoa, Coffee, Sugar & its products &c, as the Americans have no Colonies with which such productions would interfere.

WILLIAM THORNTON TO ÉTIENNE CLAVIÈRE [1788]

Mons.r [Étienne] Claviére
President de la Societe des Amis des Noirs

Respected Friend

Thy Letter with which I was lately honored is truly interesting & I perused it with must satisfaction, and think myself highly obligated for this favour: I am happy that your Nation while engaged in a noble struggle for her own Privileges was not inattentive to the rights and happiness of the most oppressed of the human Race. While the Voice of Liberty was heard in every Street, and acclamations of Joy rent the Heavens, you listened to the voice of humanity, in the midst of gladness, the cry of the afflicted in a distant Land pierced each Heart of Benevolence. The Sum of your Happiness is not yet complete

for Tears of Sorrow continue to flow from the Eyes of Slaves, and the God of Man cannot delight in the freedom of one who binds another to administer to his pleasures. Let that nobleness of Character which has distinguished your People rouse you to assert for the Africans those privileges that are claimed so loudly by the French! then will their solemn appeals to Heaven and to Earth for the Rights of Man be marked with consistency, requiring that *all* Men are *equally* entitled by Nature to the same Favours! Thus shall each name that dignifies your Society do honor to human Nature, and when the Trumpet of Fame has done sounding the names of Heroes, your Names will be heard with secret Joy in the most remote Ages, and Time will hand them over to Eternity.

I am happy that you approve of the Men with whom I propose to form a Settlement in Africa, though you think it will be necessary to form a concert of opinions and of actions between the different powers of Europe in favour of the plan previous to the attempt to form the Establishment: if however we consider that even with all the disadvantages of inexperienced Superintendents, appointed over a lawless Banditti and not very satisfactorily equipped, the English made an Essay, and as I have lately been informed not unsuccessfully, we might, with reason, hope that with such Men as I had the honor of proposing to you, properly provided with Necessaries & Arms, a free Settlement might be established upon the most solid Basis; for it does not appear that either the continuance of Slavery in other places, or even the Slave Trade affected the Settlers at Sierra Leone materially and, as the Traders seek only to take the Men, not the Country, they would have no Inducements to attack the free Blacks who were trained to Arms, and who were determined to sell their liberty only with their loss of Life. The Blacks of the Eastern States of North America still continue anxious to embark for Africa. They even addressed the Legislature of Massachusetts, and received an Answer truly worthy of that noble-spirited People, signifying that they were willing to grant the prayer of their Petition, in furnishing Ships with Stores, Implements of Labour, and Necessaries for the Coast of Africa, as soon as a proper place could be secured to them, either by Grants made by the African Princes, or in Consequence of Negotiations with any of the European Powers.

I am incapable of expressing my admiration of your spirited and excellent address to the Bailliages or Districts entitled to send Delegates to the states Gen[l]: It speaks the Language of Magnanimity, but though its justice may stare every slave dealer in the Face, and each sleeping Conscience be awaked to its Sense of Guilt, it withdraws behind the impenetrable Veil

of Interest, and the Mind is afraid to give way to conviction. A total and immediate abolition of Slavery may indeed be pregnant with some Danger to Society, but there can be no inconvenience in a gradual Emancipation to commence as soon as general Safety will permit it. You expect the abolition of the Trade: I sincerely hope that the Voice of a few Slave Traders, the most despicable of human Beings will not be suffered to dictate the most unchristian of practices to your enlightened Nation so justly famed for humanity and generosity: But whether or no you succeed in this praiseworthy attempt to abolish a traffic in the human Species let me urge the immediate consideration of the plan for forming a Settlement in Africa. The English will no doubt co-operate with you, and the Americans are willing, What can be urged against it that will not shrink before Resolution? If the Colonies preserve their unjust Titles to hold Slaves, how will they interfere with Africa? If the Slave Trade be still permitted even on every part of the Coast, what Madman would run headlong into danger to take them, knowing the dispositions of regularly disciplined Men in Arms especially if the terror of retaliation in Slavery were threatened by the Victors on both sides? If you be afraid that the surrounding Kings might be instigated by the Traders to destroy and captivate the Settlers, Laws might without difficulty be enacted to prevent under pain of Death any Traders from making Slaves within a few Degrees North and South of the Settlement—Prudence is to be admired, but no difficulties ought to overcome the Minds of Men engaged in the Cause of Virtue. Liberty is now alive: Let her not die *till she visit another* Quarter of the Earth—You are not immortal, and know not who shall succeed you. The Sun shineth today—to-morrow may never come.—No political objection can be urged against the Plan. The Manufacturing Nations of Europe, particularly France and England, will be benefitted by procuring raw materials, at a cheaper rate, exchanging for them manufactured articles. America also will find great advantages in the Productions of Africa. The immediate Exports from Africa to Europe would be gold Dust, Ivory, Cotton, Dying Woods, Gums, Drugs, Spices, Fruits and Preserves, Wood for Cabinets &c. Oil of Palms &c. Indigo, Tobacco, Rice & Wax; to America the same, except the four last Articles, but with the addition of Sugar and its products, Cocoa, Coffee, &c. as they have no Colonies with which such productions would interfere.

The Planters in the West Indies particularly the Sugar Planters cannot for many Years be affected by the exportation of any tropical Productions from Africa to Europe for the expense of Sugar Works would be too great for a new Settle-

ment, and were Sugar after that as cheap in Africa as in the East Indies it would bear so heavy a Duty that the Revenue of either France or England would be much increased by its Importation; however if these nations should regard more the Interest of the West India Planters than the increase of their Revenues though at the expense of the Subjects resident in either Kingdom, they might lay such high Duties on the African Sugar as to be prohibitory, or at least equivalent to a Bounty on West India Sugars, till *true* policy should open the Eyes of European Politicians, and force them to urge the eternal abolition of Slavery.

Reasons in favour of the immediate Settlement of Africa may be collected from the Sentiments of many in this Country. I will give you upon this Subject the Opinion of a Gentleman from one of the most respectable States in the Union—a Gentleman who does honor not to America only, but to human Nature—a Gentleman of the first Abilities, and whose Voice has ever been listened to with uncommon attention in the Councils of this Nation. His own Words are the best adapted to his Sentiments. [Insert the note by M^r.M.]

"Without inquiring into the practicability or the most proper means of establishing a settlement of freed blacks on the Coast of Africa, it may be remarked as one motive to the benevolent experiment that if such an asylum was provided, it might prove a great encouragement to manumission in the Southern parts of the U. S. and even afford the best hope yet presented of putting an end to the slavery in which not less than 600,000 unhappy negroes are now involved.

"In all the Southern States of N. America, the laws permit masters, under certain precautions to manumit their slaves. But the continuance of such a permission in some of the States is rendered precarious by the ill effects suffered from freedmen who retain the vices and habits of slaves. The same consideration becomes an objection with many humane master ag^st. an exertion of their legal right of freeing their slaves. It is found in fact that neither the good of the Society, nor the happiness of the individuals restored to freedom is promoted by such a change in their condition.

"In order to render this design eligible as well to the Society as to the Slaves, it would be necessary that a compleat incorporation of the latter into the former should result from the act of manumission. This is rendered impossible by the prejudice of the whites, prejudices which proceeding principally from the difference of colour must be considered as permanent and insuperable.

"It only remains then that some proper external receptacle be provided for the slaves who obtain their liberty. The

interior wilderness of America, and the Coast of Africa seem to present the most obvious alternative. The former is liable to great if not invincible objections. If the settlement were attempted at a considerable distance from the White Frontier, it would be destroyed by the Savages who have a peculiar antipathy to the blacks. If the attempt were made in the neighbourhood of the White Settlements, peace would not long be expected to remain between Societies, distinguished by such characteristic marks, and retaining the feelings inspired by their former relation of oppressors & oppressed. The result then is that an experiment for providing such an external establishment for the blacks as might induce the humanity of Masters, and by degrees both the humanity & policy of the Governments, to forward the abolition of slavery in America, ought to be pursued on the Coast of Africa or in some other foreign situation.[10]"

Such is his Opinion, and he further intimated that Slavery is not likely to be *ever* abolished in the Southern States of America till an Asylum be provided to which the manumitted Blacks may be sent.

I have only to add my sincere Wishes that the honorable and benevolent Society over which thou presidest may concur with me in Sentiment respecting the propriety of adopting a plan of immediately commencing this Settlement, as it may beside other beneficial Effects have that of forwarding the abolition of not only the Slave Trade, but Slavery itself, teaching the European Nations that Slavery is not necessary for raising the productions of the torrid Zone, and teaching the Kings of Africa that their Kingdoms would be much richer by a Sale of their Commodities, than by a sale of their Inhabitants; that a King who sells his Subjects to enrich himself is (according to Montesquieu) like one who cuts down his Trees to pick off the Fruits.

Nothing I hope will subdue your Minds! Great is your Cause, and may Heaven prosper your Society! You defend not imaginary Titles; you plead not the cause of an Individual or a Family; you support not the honorary dignities of a Kingdom; but you disinterestedly raise your Voice in favour of many Nations, to preserve the Lives of many Millions, and in defence of the dearest rights of Man!!—

I am with the greatest regard & esteem

thy respectful Friend

W:T.

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[10] This insertion is in James Madison's handwriting.

Suggestion to Buy Porto Rico for Free Negroes.

Draft, by Thornton [1802]

About the year 88, at the time that the Government of England was engaged in settling a free Colony at Sierra Leone the Americans in New England were desirous of sending all the free Blacks from that Country and offered Ships and every necessary for their support. The Blacks likewise were desirous of fixing in any Country where they might enjoy the rights & privileges of free-men, which they knew could not, consistently with the policy of the American Government, be accorded to them while so large a portion of the Black people remained in a State of Slavery. But without they had returned to Africa there was no place in which they could find the contemplated Asylum. If an Island had been in the possession of the Americans it would have served this valuable purpose. The English made a Settlement, which some French Privateers destroyed, and which humanity has to lament; but Virtue generally perseveres in the plans she has commenced, because she seldom commences them without considering attentively the end. They again sent settlers and it is thought they will amply repay the trouble and expense incurred. The same Causes that induced the Inhabitants of Boston to desire a place of settlement for the Blacks still exist, and we yet possess no place that can without various objections be dedicated to this end. But the mere settlement of the Blacks is perhaps not a sufficient inducement to the Government of America to engage in the establishment af a Colony, for it has been considered by many wise men as incurring a great expense, & subjecting any Nation to the Evils of foreign warfare. It is in part true, but only as it relates to certain European powers. With respect to us is it materially different, and though we are at present but in the infancy of our political Existence we are considered as so important in the Scale of Nations that were we even now to possess one or more Islands no Nation would presume to molest us, because our weight thrown into any Scale would outbalance the advantages of opposition to any of our National Measures; especially if there were not direct aggression on the rights & privileges of others; and though it might be extremely difficult for the Americans at any other time to obtain from the Court of Spain, or any other Nation an Island in the West Indies, especially of sufficient importance to be worthy of being possessed by one of the most extensive Nations in the world, yet at this time it would not be difficult to induce the Court of Spain to cede to us, what is not important to them, I mean the

Island of Porto Rico, for it is an annual expense to the Spanish Government of above 150,000 Doll^s^. Other motives might tend to induce them to grant us this Island which may be enumerated. During a War, & the present particularly, the English may make prize of it, if they know the Americans wish it, may sell it to them, thereby depriving the Spaniards not only of our Friendship but also of the Island & the Money we would give. It is not however the policy of England to grant the Americans an Island for the very Idea of giving us more strength in the American Archipelago is contrary to their national policy, not only on acct. of increasing our Seamen & consequently our naval power, but of being her competitors in the Sugar Market: but this policy would give way to the consideration of our obtaining from the Spaniards what was refused by them, and the National Jealousies between the two Courts would at this time work mutually to our Advantage. If the English had wished for Porto Rico, or any, or all, of the Spanish Islands, & other Settlements, they could at any time have obtained them, as well as the french Settlements, but the Merchants of England who have lent Money to the Jamaica Planters, on their Estates, and the Planters who at great Expense have settled Sugar Estates, would oppose the Intention of Government, if a Disposition were shown to extend their Colonies in such rich & fertile Islands, where a competition would diminish the value of their settled possessions–and these rich merchants & planters who possess Boroughs in England and send by their extensive Patronage & Influence many Members to parliament do not express their wishes without being heard by the royal or Ministerial Ear. The French Islands have been repeatedly taken by the English and restored at the conclusion of the War, but if retained they would only have thrown the same quantity of Sugar into a different Channel without actually increasing it & there could be less objection to their being retained. If the American Government were opposed to *purchasing* the Island there is no doubt it would be ceded by our giving way in the Settlement of our Western Limits of Louisiana—for if a serious demand were to be made of the Rio Bravo or Rio del Norte as our Boundary, the Spaniards would be extremely adverse to a Dispute, & would be equally or more adverse to the relinquishment of a Territory that contains the richest Gold Mines in the world, which are situated in the Mountains of the Province of Texas, and several Rich ones in the neighborhood of Sta. Fé, besides some of the richest Silver Mines in the world–rather than permit such a cession of Territory there is no Doubt they would give the two Floridas & Porto Rico: the last however is the richest most beautiful most pleasant & healthy Island in

the same Latitude or between the Tropics in the world. It is likewise very extensive in fertile Land, and contains more really rich Land proper for Canes & at the same time in a healthy situation than all the other possessions of this Government, if even what is mentioned above were ceded to us. Porto Rico contains Ports that are very extensive & very safe. It is more easy of access to our Ships than any Settlement we can form, as they can run thither & back with the Trade Wind, without beating up or tacking. If the Government possess that Island and make it a free Port it would give, independent of the produce, an astonishing revenue, and if a free Port, it would prevent the Jealousies that it might otherwise excite. If the Government were even adverse to this Island being considered as an object of exchange for such a portion of Louisiana as we may have a right to claim, and were also adverse to making a purchase of it, would any Objection arise to their acceptance of its Sovereignty, and permit a private Company to purchase the Island under the Sanction of the American Government, permitting every proprietor to hold his Land, and the Company taking possession only of the Crown Lands. Upon these Principles the English the Danes the Dutch & others have established Settlements which have been so productive as to give immense revenues.

Draft of a Letter to a Newspaper.
By Thornton [1816?]

Messrs. Editors

The Cause of the Blacks has called forth the energetic power of England, & Cruisers have been sent to the Coast of Africa to put a Stop to that inhuman trafic, that has so long disgraced the most enlightened Nations of Europe. Such evidences have been produced that we find it is impossible to deny that many of our own People are engaged very deeply in this Business, furnishing under different Flags, the Spaniards of Cuba, with Slaves, who again wait for convenient opportunities to send them to Missouri, & thus many thousands have been introduced in the very teeth of the Constitution; against law, against humanity, against every rule of right & every principle of Christianity, at the very time that we are tickling the vanity of each other, in orations on our freedom & declaration of common rights, & at the very time that we are immolating those poor wretches, who listening to our 4th. of July flights, declare that "whatever is praiseworthy in Massa, is certainly praisworthy in his Slave!"

The Eye of Heaven is not blinded with Gold-dust, & the Day of reckoning is drawing near. Has a single Individual

dared to stand forth the Champion of the Oppressed: has he dared to recommend to Congress that a law should be passed to take to the Coast of Barbary every Man captured on board the Slave-trading Vessels who was engaged directly or indirectly in making Slaves or trading in them; & that such Individuals should be exchanged to ransom the innocent Captives of the Barbarians!— We are seeking for a President. Give me the Name of such a Champion of humanity, & I would write Night & Day to blazon forth his Virtues, and to make him the Ruler of the People. I would have none of your cold-blooded, tardy-thinking and calculating Characters. I would have the warm-hearted the noble-minded & generous Being who would dare to stem the torrent of opposition, and whose Virtues would rise against every attack, with a bolder crest: for in this land there is still great virtue, but it lies in a latent State. It requires to be brought forth, & to be fostered. It would, under the cherishing influence of a great master-spirit, be productive of effects that cannot be contemplated by the puny Soul! The North Americans would thus be distinguished as a great, a generous, a virtuous, & magnanimous People. It would then be an honor to be called by such an Appellation. At present we look not for good and enlightened Men to fill our offices, but for men of money, of influence in Elections, of intrigue, to help forward our contemptible views of self-interest. Even parties are created, without knowing why they are to be enlisted on this or that side, and without seeing the causes that tend to ultimate results, of which they remain as ignorant as if the wood-and-wire worked here were to dance puppets in the moon! If an Envoy be sent to a foreign Country, it is not for what he is expected to do there; but to pay for electioneering services performed here, or to be performed. He may be old to superannuation, he may be deaf & dumb,-that is, incapable of understanding, or speaking intelligibly a word of the People to whom he is sent.—What impositions are these upon the Community! Can no man be found who has honesty enough to call upon the actors in these base desertions of common Sense! No, we have no men, or few who dare write, & fewer still who dare publish what is written: for all the Papers that obtain extensive circultaion are in the pay of Government. The Laws are to be published in each of these papers, not for the benefit of the People, but to pay the vile hirelings who are as much bought & sold, as the hack-lawyers, that will plead in favor of any villain, in a cause, known to be iniquitous, for a fee. I speak to you Citizens, without your accustomed homage, & I call upon you to publish what I write if you have any of the spirit of '76. It was then that men dared to think, and to write. It was then that those

bold and home Truths were told in the Pages of *Common Sense*. But the Times have changed, & I call upon you my Countrymen to resume your native energies.

When this Country declared its Independence the Inhabitants were but ab^t^ two millions & a half, of which nearly a Million were slaves. We were then without Ships, without Money, without Arms, without ammunition: and yet the whole power of England was insufficient to subject us to an unconditional Submission to parliamentary decrees. We became independent! England was at the commencement of the Struggle nearly free from Debt: at the end of the war they were involved in a debt of 500,000,000 Sterl^g^. The great men of this Country & many others thought it impossible that England could long sustain such a burthen of Taxes as were requisite to pay the interest of this enormous Debt. But England has since that sustained a War against all the powers of Christendom & when engaged with all Europe, we, to obtain a redress of some grievances, threw our power into the Scale against England. She sustained the whole! and put down, finally, the power of France, that had forced the rest of Europe to succumb. That Nation, England, that seemed unappalled by a combination of all the powers of the World, pretends now, in perfect peace, to dread the effects that will be likely to result from an effort of the Emperor of Russia to humble the pride and power of the Turks, if unopposed by the rest of Europe! Has England any thing to fear even if Alexander were to make Constantinople his winter's, & St. Petersburgh his summer's, residence? His Empire would be assailable, in so many points, that he would never be able to defend it. He would prepare only for revolutions, for when men are placed under Rulers acting only as Vicegerents, they are apt to break the Clue of power and wind up a Ball for themselves. The East Indies will become independent of Great Britain—New Holland will become independent—The Cape of good-hope will become independent, but all these speaking the English Language will give such advantages to our Commerce as to render us in a few years the most potent Nation in the World.

[December, 1816.]

To the honorable Henry Clay, Chairman of the Assembly for promoting the establishment of a free and independ^t^. Nation of Blacks in Africa [draft by Thornton.]

Sir

My public Duties did not permit my personal attendance at the meeting lately held for this praise-worthy object but I have heard with unspeakable satisfaction of the respectability

of the meeting & of the unanimity of benevolence with which this Subject was discussed. It is a Subject that has long impressed my mind as one of the most momentous; for it involves the happiness of millions of our FellowBeings; and as the Government of America was the first to provide against the extension of Slavery it is with inexpressible pleasure that I view among its most respectable Citizens a zealous desire to restore to their Country the Descendents of the Africans who have obtained their freedom among us. It has been thought by many that they would depart with reluctance for the region of their forefathers, but the feelings of human nature are the same in all. Let those who prejudge the feelings of the Blacks apply the Case to themselves, and ask if they were carried into Slavery among the Barbary Powers or other savages, and by degrees had gained their freedom, and a desire were expressed by the Barbarians that the emancipated & their descend^ts should be restored to their original country, could there be a hesitation in those to whom such a proposal should be made in embracing the offer, especially if they were to have lands presented to them, and were to be assisted in forming a free Government? It is impossible on this subject, if well considered, to offer a doubt. But lest any should judge from expressions that may have escaped from contented Individuals, I will mention a Fact in favor of this contemplated Establishment that cannot fail to make some Impression.

In the winter of 1786-7 I was travelling in Rhode Island & Massachusetts. I found many free Blacks & having been engaged in a correspondence with some of the members of the Sierra Leone Society of London, among whom were some of my Friends I was desirous of knowing what number of free Blacks in Mass. & R.I. could be found, desirous of joining in that Settlement. I made my wish known to some of the elder Blacks who informed me they would call Meetings that they might be informed of the contemplated object of such a Settlement. They assembled in hundreds, in one of the places of worship & in the most orderly and decent manner, heard all I had to say. They were delighted with the prospect, and in a few Weeks informed me that two thousand were willing to accompany me. I made this known to some of the Member of the Assembly of Massach^ts who expressed a desire of aiding in sending them out of the Country, and I had no doubt from the ardour with which the proposal of taking them away entirely, was advocated, that the Legislature would have furnished then with Ships, with provisions, Tools &c. and many of the members promised that every requisite would cheerfully be granted. When however I explained to them the intention of taking the Blacks to Sierra Leone—then Members

of the Legislature expressed an unwillingness to send them out of the limits of the U.S., & wished a Settlement to be made in the most southern part of the back Country between the whites & Indians. I informed them that I would never be instrumental in placing those men, who were now comparatively happy & in a state of protection, between the Indians & Savages on their Borders, where they would become a prey to both; besides I was confident the Blacks could have no motive for wishing such a change; for if they should prove capable of defending themselves ag^st all their Enemies, & should preserve their political freedom, could they ever hope to be rec^d as representatives in our Assemblies? Could they ever be treated with an equality in a country where many of their Colour were still held in Slavery? It would be morally impossible, but if possible it would be politically dangerous. We thus parted, but I had still a hope that the Day would arrive when other views of this Subject would open to the mind a prospect of such unbounded good to that miserable race, that all minor Considerations would vanish. Happily the Day has arrived, and I hope that the holy zeal with which this Business has commenced may never feel a check; for most fortunately for the cause of humanity, the Cause of self Interest has nothing to fear from its advancement.

I laid before the World in 1804 a Letter containing a plan for emancipating the Blacks, a copy of which I take the liberty of presenting with this.[11] It is however a Subject distinct from the one now under contemplation. This is on the mode of establishing them as a free, distinct, & independent people. Without attempting to combat the various opinions that prevail on this Subject, I think it sufficient to give my own but I offer my Sentiments upon this great Subject with the utmost deference. The Almighty in that wisdom that Man cannot pretend to scan, has destined Africa to be the Country of the Blacks. They lived in a state of Nature, enjoying the fruits & natural productions of one of the most fertile regions of the Earth—till America was discovered. The rich mines of Silver & Gold found there induced the nations of Europe who possessed themsevles of these inexhaustible sources of Wealth after sacrificing millions of poor Indians, to import Africans to work their mines & cultivate their lands. These People have been subject to cruelties, at which human Nature has long shuddered. Their sufferings have made impressions that have roused the activity of many benevolent & highly distinguished Characters. The Slave

[11]Political Economy founded in Justice and Humanity in a letter to a friend by W. T. Washington, 1804. Printed by Samuel Harrison Smith.

Trade has been abolished, many humane Persons have liberated their Slaves, and more would follow them if such provision were made for their future destiny as would be likely to ensure a prospect of felicity. An Establishment was made by the English at Sierra Leone, on one of the finest rivers, & in the richest country in Africa. This settlement flourished till broken up by the French through a mistaken Jealousy. It is revived, & hopes of its advancement entertained. The liberal policy of those enlightened Characters who commenced that Establishment of free Blacks would doubtless induce them cordially to assist in extending it to the free Blacks of this Country, & of all others. To join those already in some degree established would offer advantages to each; but this is only under the supposition that the Settlement is to be considered as appertaining to not only a free but compleatly independent People: and in no respect whatever to be viewed as a Colony. If they should be settled as a Colony, they would be restricted by regulations to trade with particular nations, & would be subjected to oppressive Duties. They might be considered as free but not independent. In an establishment of this kind, where provision should be made for unborn Millions, every movement should be correspondent. Let the Sovereignty of five hundred miles square be purchased of the natives of Africa, by discreet and competent agents and let this region be recorded by our Government as a free gift forever to the people who may settle thereon. The price of purchase may perhaps be small in comparison to the immensity of the Object & particularly if the surrounding People be informed that nothing but good is contemplated. But instead of thousands were it to cost us millions it would be unworthy of the Consider^{n}. of a great & magnanimous People, who have not hesitated to sacrifice more than a hundred Millions in asserting National Principles in defence of private Rights; especially when this great Cause is a beneficent retribution for long sustained injuries inflicted on the Innocent; & to blot from the records of Eternity the highest stigma of humanity. After purchasing the Country let it be surveyed in the same manner as our own back Countries, & the fee simple only be disposed of by degrees that the Settlers may be kept compact, and be thereby more capable of defending themselves & their flocks from the incursions of the Savages & from the beasts of the wilderness. A form of republican Govern^{t}. would be prepared for them—and they ought for a while to be protected by a due force. Every Advantage should be accorded to them, that an orderly & reasonable people could desire. Public Schools & places of worship should be established. Whatever would tend to their advancement in

this world, & preparation for the next should be solicitously fostered—and if with all our Care such a people should be produced as might reasonably be expected to arise from such preparatory Steps, they would bless the humble Instruments of this great work;—for when the surrounding Nations of Africa now wrapt in miserable Ignorance should incline to join their emancipated Brethren they would find them truly emancipated—not from the chains of Slavery alone, but from the thraldom of the Mind. They would find them enjoying the light of Christianity—and able to instruct their fellow men in the precepts of divine wisdom. Thus would Slavery, the darkest stain on Christian Professors, be finally rendered subservient to the work of heaven & the poor Africans be in a manner repaid for the long sufferings of their unhappy children. The wilderness would flourish in Arts, Agriculture & Science, their Ports would be open to the whole world, the Native African would be taught the principles of Christianity & be happy; thus millions unnumbered in singing halelujahs to our God, would bless the Children of the West!

W: T:

AN EARLY ACCOUNT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JESUIT MISSIONS IN AMERICA

BY HENRY F. DEPUY

FEW subjects in American history have had more careful study from eminent scholars both historically and bibliographically than the Jesuit missions in North America. The Jesuits were by no means the first mssionaries to the new world, but they had a system of reports to the head of the order and many of these reports were printed for public distribution. These reports from the fact that they contain descriptions of the country and its inhabitants are among the most important sources of our early history. It is therefore with good reason that these books and anything relating to the Jesuit missions have been sought with avidity by historians, libraries and collectors. The discovery of hitherto unknown books or manuscripts relating to these Missions is today an event of importance both historically and bibliographically. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to an authoritative source of information as to the Jesuit missions till now almost entirely unknown to American investigators—the Life of Francisco de Borja, the third General of the Jesuits, written by Father Ribadeneyra and printed in Madrid in 1592. The complete title and collation of this book is:

Vida del P. Francisco de Borja, que fue Duque de Gandia, y despues Religiosos y III. General dela Compañia de Iesvs. Escrita por el P. Pedro de Ribadeneyra de la misma Compañia Dirigida al Catolico Rey Don Felipe II nuestro Senor. [cut]

Con privilegio real En Madrid, En Casa de P. Madrigal. Año de 1592. Esta tassada en papel en cinco Reales, y 19 mrs.

Quarto; ff [12], 237 [3]; 193 x 140 mm.

Father Pedro de Ribadeneyra, the author, was born in Toledo, November the first, 1527, and died at Madrid on the twenty-second of September, 1611. He served in several important posts in the Company of Jesus, and besides other works was the author of the Lives of Loyola, Laynez, and Borgia the first three Generals of the Order.

The "Vida de Borja" was first printed in Madrid in 1592, the foregoing being the title to the first edition. The other editions that I have been able to trace are: Verdun, 1596, in French; Douai, 1596 and 1603, in French; Florence, 1600, in Italian; Ingolstadt, 1613, in German; Mentz, 1603, in Latin; Rome, 1616, in Italian, cited by Backer; and Antwerp, 1598; Mayence, 1613; Douai, 1603; Lyons, 1609, cited by Nicolas Antonio. These are all separate editions of the Life of Borgia. The three "Vidas" of Loyola, Laynez and Borgia appear together in several editions, the earliest being 1594. Pérez Pastor in *Bibliografía Madrileña*, Madrid, 1891, gives the interesting information about this edition of 1594, that the Duke of Gandia, son of Francisco de Borgia, gave 1500 reals to assist the printing "de ce livre." This sums up the bibliographical information that I have found in regard to the book. As to the book itself, I have not been able to locate a copy of any edition in any public library in America. The British Museum catalogue has two editions, Madrid 1592 (imperfect) and Mentz 1603.

The copy which I owned and from which the chapters quoted in this article are taken is now in the library of Mr. Henry E. Huntington. I obtained it through Mr. Robert Dodd, and a name on the title indicates that in the early part of the 19th century it was the property of Alfred Hennen of New Orleans.

It contains four chapters on the establishment of Jesuit missions in America. They are as follows:

"The Entrance of the Company into the West Indies, and the death of nine of them in Florida, Chapter VI.
"Our men go to Peru and to New Spain, Chapter VII.
"The Death which the heretics gave to thirty-nine of the company who were going to Brazil. Chapter X.
"Concerning twelve others of the Company who likewise died at the hands of the heretics." Chapter XI.

These chapters are, as far as I know, the earliest printed accounts of the Florida mission. There are earlier accounts of the South American missions; and in this connection it is worthy of remark that although Ribadeneyra distinctly says in Chapter VI: "When Father Francisco was first General of the Company none of the Company had entered the West Indies which were subject to the Crown of Castile. They had only sent forth and scattered our men through the East Indies" etc. Yet it is undoubtedly a fact that there were Jesuit missionaries in South America prior to 1550. I am indebted to Mr. Eames for the three titles as follows:

(1) Avisi Particolari delle Indiedi Portugallo, Roma, 1552, (This contains seven letters from Jesuit missionaries in Brasil. 1549-1551.)
(2) Novi Avisi di piu lochi de l'India et massime de Brasil receuuti quest' anno del M. D. LIII, Roma, 1553. (Contains eleven letters from Jesuit missionaries in Brazil, 1551-1552.)
(3) Copia de unas Cartas de algunos padres y hermanos dela compañia de Jesus que escrivieron dela India, Japon, y Brasil, [Lisbon,] 1555. (Contains four letters from Jesuit missionaries in Brazil written in 1555.)

All three are in the Lenox collection of the New York Public Library, and all were printed before Francisco de Borgia became General of the Company in 1565.

It is remarkable that in studying the history of the Jesuit missions scholars should have failed to consult the life of the General of the Order under whom they were established. It seems hardly credible that a

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Escrita por el P. Pedro de Ribadeneyra de la misma Compañia.

Dirigida al Catolico Rey Don Felipe. II. nuestro Señor.

CON PRIVILEGIO REAL.

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book of that character, which went through at least ten editions in twenty-four years, should be extremely rare. Yet no reference is made to it by Shea or O'Callaghan, who were both intensely interested in the subject, and who were both members of the Order. Buckingham Smith is supposed to have ransacked Madrid for early books and documents relating to Florida and evidently did not discover it. The facts given in the chapter on Florida are simply confirmatory, though in more detail, of the account given by Shea in his chapter on Ancient Florida in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, Volume 2. Shea cites as his authority a letter of Menendez dated in October 1566, and printed in Madrid, 1710 [Winsor II, 279.] In fact, I have been able to learn of but one American reference to this book. This morning, our associate Mr. George Parker Winship, has called my attention to the fact that it was cited in 1905 in a footnote on p. 266 of Woodbury Lowery: "Spanish Settlements within the limits of the United States; Florida, 1562–1574."

The story of the attempt to establish the mission in Florida as told by Father Ribadeneyra is well worth reprinting. I have had it translated by a well-known student of Spanish literature and give it entire.

The Entrance of the Company into the West Indies, and the Death of Nine of them in Florida

Chapter VI

When Father Francisco was first General (of the Company) none of the Company had entered the West Indies, (which were) subject to the crown of Castile. They had only sent forth and scattered our men through the East Indies, and arrived at the gates of China, and founded houses and churches in Japan, with the result that is known. There were many in the Company to whom our Lord had given an ardent desire to die for him, and a particular aptitude to labor in (fol. 140a) the West Indies, in the same manner in which their other companions and brethren labored in the East Indies. And

they implored our Lord that he might open the gates for them and fulfil in them his desires. And the charity and zeal for the glory of God our Lord, with which Father Francisco was burning, was so great that he had, even before he became General, offered up many prayers, sacrifices and penances for this purpose. The Lord heard them and waited (for the most opportune time) until the Father was appointed General, in order that by his hand and to his contentment he might send, for this enterprise, the fathers and brethren who should seem best to him. Almost at the same time or a little later, which was on May 3, 1566, he induced the Catholic King don Felipe to write a letter, in which, among other things, he said: on account of the good reports which we have of persons in the Company, and of the good they have done and are doing in these Kingdoms, I have desired that an order be given that some of the Company be sent to our Indies of the Atlantic Ocean. And in order that the necessity for such persons shall constantly be increased and that our Lord may be served by the said father's going to those parts, on account of the Christianity and kindness they have and because they are persons fit for the conversion of those natives, and on account of the devotion I have to the said company (fol. 141) I desire that some of them go to those regions. I therefore beg you and charge you to appoint and command 24 persons of the Company to go to our said Indies to wherever our Council shall indicate to them. That they shall be learned persons of good life and example and such as you may judge fitting for such an undertaking. For besides the service which you will do to the Lord in this matter, I shall receive great satisfaction and I shall command that they be provided with everything necessary. In addition, that country to which they may go will receive great happiness and benefit through their arrival.

In fulfillment of what the King commanded, father Francisco chose some fathers of the Company for this mission. The first were the fathers Maestro Pedro Martinez (who was an Aragonese from the town of Teurel) and Juan Rogel, and the brother Francisco de Villareal, who left in that same year on July 28th for Florida, where they arrived on September 24th of the said year. And our Lord was pleased to receive as the first fruits of the Company the first one of the Company who set his foot on that new world. For Father Martinez in leaping ashore in the Floridas in order to preach and to give news of the Gospel to the barbarous natives who were (fol. 141a) on the sea-shore, was beaten to the ground with the clubs they carried, and seizing him, half dead, they threw him into the sea, our Lord thus giving him as a reward for the hardships he had suffered in the Company in his religious and

exemplary life, so happy a death and the grace of dying for his love. But this frightened neither his companions nor the others of his Brethren who had remained in Europe, nor did this death of Padre Martinez intimidate them; on the contrary it animated them more, knowing that they were more easily able to attain in Florida what they desired, which was to die for Christ. And so in the year 1568 Father Francisco, in order to continue the work they had undertaken, sent eleven of the Company, the Superior of whom was Father Juan Baptista de Segura; these were to be joined by father Rogel and brother Francisco or Villareal, companions of father Pedro Martinez, who, after the latter's death, retired to the port of Habana, and had already returned to Florida, whither the eleven fathers and brothers departed from Saulucar on March 13, 1568. There went with them a *Cacique* or chief of the country of Florida, whom the Governor Pedro Melendez had brought with him from Florida to Spain. And having been instructed in the matters of our holy religion, (fol. 142) he received with great expressions of joy and happiness the waters of holy baptism and was called don Luys. For it was believed that because he was familiar with that country and a high personage who had many relations, that he would be able to help our men in the conversion of his subjects and friends, as he had promised to do.

Father Baptista de Segura and seven of his companions having arrived in Florida (for the rest of them remained in Habana), they courageously penetrated the country, guided by don Luys, without permitting a single Spanish soldier to accompany them, altho many had offered to do so. They wore their ornaments (vestments) and whatever was necessary for saying mass, and some devotional books. They passed through great deserts and swamps, of which there are many in that country. Their provisions were soon exhausted and they had to support themselves on the herbs they found in the fields and on the water they found in the pools. They arrived in the country of don Luys, which was a considerable distance from the sea and from every human shelter, and was inhabited by naked savages. Don Luys informed them that they should await him in a half deserted village, and he went to another, where his people were, five leagues further on. (fol. 142a) And when the fathers had waited six days longer then had been agreed upon, father Baptista de Segura sent a father and one of the brethren to learn why he did not come and whether he wished that they should come to where he was. On arriving (whether it be because don Luys had apostatized and returned to his idolatries and was confused, or because he had already planned and plotted the wickedness), he and his relatives

fell upon the padre and the brother and killed them. And at dawn of the following day, with don Luys as captain and guide, they fell upon and killed the rest of them, whom they found, all six of them, kneeling, and awaiting death with joy and devotion. Then they stripped them of their garments, stole their ornaments and altar accessories, put on the clothes of the dead and danced in their intoxication. Three of them went to open a little chest of the fathers, thinking to find some valuables in it. But they found in it a book of the holy Scripture, a missal, and devotional books, rosaries, images, hair cloth, disciplines and a sacred crucifix, which they looked upon very intently, and as they looked, they fell suddenly dead. Those of their companions, who were present, were so wonder struck (fol. 143) and amazed at what they saw, that without touching a thing they each went their way. All this was seen and noted by a Spanish boy, whom the father's had with them, and whose life was spared because he was a boy and because they knew that he could not preach to them. He remained a captive among them for several years until the Lord freed him from such a barbarous, fierce nation, and he related what we have just told.

Those who died there for the propagation of our holy faith were: father Baptista de Segura, a native of Toledo (who, because of his virtues and his religious life had been much loved in Spain by father Francisco); father Luys de Quiros, and the brethren Gabriel Gomez, Cauallos, Juan Baptista Mendez, Pedro de Linares, Christoual Redondo, and Gabriel de Solis. I have set down their names here in order that the memory of these fortunate clerics may be preserved, who in their zeal for souls shed their blood with such constancy and joy.

And for the same reason I here wish to mention father Francisco Lopez, who, in the previous year, 1567, in going from the College of Cochin to Goa with three companions, fell into the hands of the moors. (fol. 143a) He was known to them on account of the tonsure he wore, and was importuned by them to forsake the faith of Jesus Christ. But as, with great confidence and fortitude he persevered in the love and confession of his Lord and offered himself to every kind of torment and death for it, the barbarians pierced his side with a lance and decapitated him; and so he passed from this brief and miserable life to the reward of eternal happiness. Of his three companions, one was captured by the Moors; the other two disappeared.

This was in the year 1567, in which father Francisco sent fathers Pedro Domenech, and Geronymo Mur to Oran to assist Pedro Luys de Borja, his brother, Master of the Knights

of Montesa (who was Governor and Captain General of that city for King Philip, and who is now Viceroy and Captain General of Cataluña), and to help the soldiers and men in his charge in their spiritual affairs and matters appertaining to our ministry, as they did for some years while they were there, to the advantage of both soldiers and people. (Fol. 144)

Our Men go to Peru and to New Spain

Chapter VII

In this year, 1567, King Philip wrote another letter to father Francisco, in which he said: On account of the need there is in the province of Peru for clerics to attend to the conversion and instruction of the natives and on account of the devotion which his majesty has for the Company, he begs and charges him that he order twenty monks of the Company to go to Peru. They are to occupy themselves in the conversion and instruction of the Indians, and are to build houses and colleges, for he will command that they be supplied with everything necessary for their journey. In fulfilment of this, in the same year 1567, there departed from the port of San Lucar on November 2, fathers Geronimo de Portillo (who goes as Provincial), father Antonio Alvarez (who died in Panama), father Maestro Luys Lopez, and father Miguel de Fuentes, beside the brothers Diego de Bracamonte, Juan Garcia de Yanguas, Francisco de Medina and Pedro Lobet. These were the first of the Company to enter Peru, and they built houses, founded colleges and opened schools, in which were taught and are taught today the sciences and faculties which the Company is wont to teach to the great benefit of the youth and of the Spaniards who reside in that very extensive Kingdom, and of the Indians themselves, who are converted to our holy faith through the teaching of the fathers.

So much was the Lord our God pleased with the going of these fathers and brethren of ours to Peru, and so favorable the beginnings of their preaching, that the Catholic King, don Felipe, was induced to ask the Company to send more people. And so on March 19, 1659, there left with don Francisco or Toledo (who went as Viceroy to Peru), the fathers Bartolome Hernandez, Juan Garcia, the Maestro Barzana, Hernan Sanchez, Rodrigo Alvarez, and the brothers Sebastian Amador, Juan de Zuñiga, Juan Gomez, Antonio Martinez, Juan de Casasola, Diego Ortun, Diego Martinez (of whom father Juan Garcia died in Panama), and afterwards in the year 1571, on June 8, there left for the same province of Peru, fathers Joseph de Acosta and Andres Lopez and brother

Diego Martinez. On June 23, 1572 at the same instance and command of his Majesty there left for New Spain fourteen fathers (fol. 145) and brethren, who were the first of the Company who entered into that province. They took with them, as their Provincial, father Doctor Pedro Sanchez (who, having been Rector of the University of Alcalá, and holding a chair therein, had entered the Company some years before), and with him were the fathers Diego Lopez, Diego de Fonseca, Pedro Diaz, Concha, Baca, Camargo, and the brethren Juan Sanchez, Mercado, Curiel, Matilla, Bartolome Larios, Lope Nauarro, Martin Goncalez; whom I have wished to name with the rest in this chapter in order that there may remain a memorial of the first of the Company who went to enlighten, with the light of the holy gospel, the souls of the dwellers in this new world, who were captives under the tyranny of Satan. These fathers and brethren having reached New Spain, settled in the city of Mexico, the chief city of that Kingdom, and afterwards were spread and scattered in other cities and provinces, to the great edification and benefit of the natives and of the Spainards who reside in it, the number of our people being increased every year by those who were sent thither.

How the divine goodness has been served by the agency of the members of the Company in the Western Indies of Peru and of New Spain (fol. 145a) by helping the other clerics in the conversion of the heathen, and in the education of those already converted, and by the reformation of the customs of the Spanish colonists, and by the teaching of youth and by all the other works of charity, (all this) I do not wish to mention here, because it is so well known, and because it is too long for a brief narrative. This was the beginning and the first entry of the Company into the Kingdom of Peru and of New Spain, subject to the crown of Castile; which (Kingdoms) were closed for its sons (i. e. sons of the company), until the Lord through the prayers of father Francisco, who was then President General, opened them, as we have just related. But here, in Europe, the Company also extended its activities and founded colleges in various provinces as will be seen in the following chapters.

The Death Which The Heretics Gave to Thirty-nine of The Company Who Were Going to Brazil

Chapter X

Not only did our Lord God increase the Company that we have on earth by increasing the number of colleges and founding new houses in various Provinces (as we have seen),

but he cherished and favored it much more by peopling Heaven with its sons and by enriching and augmenting the Company of those who already enjoy the rewards of their victories, giving to their brethren new victories and crowns, as he did in the year 1570, by a notable event which I wish to relate here. Because it is not just that we pass in silence an inestimable benefit which the Company received from the hands of the Lord, by means of certain French heretics, who, in hatred of our holy Catholic faith, killed fifty-one of its sons, father Francisco being then President General. For one of the greatest fruits that the Company has reaped from the labor and industry of our people (who go among the heathen and heretics, enlightening them and converting them to our holy faith), has been that many of them have shed their blood for the very faith which they were preaching, and that they have confirmed (fol. 152) the truth of their doctrine by their deaths. This has happened in many places and at different times. Among them is the one I here relate. Father Francisco sent father Ignacio de Azeuedo, a Portuguese of the city of Puerto (a man no less illustrious in holiness than in blood) to the province of Brazil to visit and console those of the Company who were there, and to note what their needs are to carry on the enterprise that had been begun, and to convert that barbarous people to our holy Religion. The father went thither and performed his duty well; then went to Rome to report to the General what he had done, and the extreme need there was in Brazil of persons to cultivate that deserted vineyard, since for lack of workers, many souls were being lost. It seemed (fitting) to father Francisco to send father Ignacio de Azevedo again as Provincial to Brazil, with a goodly number of fathers and brethren to help him in that spiritual conquest. And he commissioned him to take with him from the provinces of Spain some who were desirous and inclined for that opportunity; and that he should receive others into the Company who may request it, if they should have a desire to accompany him and offer their lives to the Lord for the benefit and conversion of the Brazils, for there were not so many qualified clerics who could go to Brazil without leaving other enterprises of much service to our Lord, upon which they were now engaged. Likewise it was fitting that some of those who are to go should be young, in order to accustom themselves the more readily to the climate and to the living in the new country, and to learn the language of the natives. The Provincial Azevedo brought together sixty-nine of the Company, in compliance with the order that he had received. He distributed them in three vessels: in one, called the Santiago, he took with him forty-four; in another went others, and as

their Superior, father Pedro Diaz, in another went the rest. They left Lisbon on June 5, with Don Luys de Vasconcelos, a valiant Christian Knight, who with the three vessels and four others went as Governor of Brazil, and well pleased he was to have in his company so many and such clerics. They went on their voyage with as much good fellowship as if each one of the vessels were a college of the Company. They had their appointed hours of prayer, of examination of conscience, of reading at table, prayed each day their litanies and the Salve Regina to our Lady; instructed the sailors, soldiers and passengers in Christian Doctrine, and preached to them, read the lives of the Saints and gave them (fol. 153) rosaries, images, beads that had been blessed, devout and profitable books instead of those that were not so, and which they took from them with kindly words. With this harmony and concord all the vessels reached the Island of Madeira, where it was necessary that the Santiago, which bore father Ignacio de Azevedo and his companions, had to separate from the rest, and went alone to the island of La Palma, one of the Canaries. Being obliged to leave, father Ignacio called all his companions and told them he believed that on that voyage there would not be lacking heretical corsairs who would pursue them, and for all that might happen it was fitting that all should be well prepared and resolved to die for Christ. And if, by chance, there should be anyone among them who should not have this spirit and courage, and should wish to remain with the other vessels, that he would be pleased that he do so. Among all the forty-four whom he brought, there were only four (who were novices and afterwards went out of the Company) who showed any weakness, and plainly said that as men they feared that danger which the father had placed before them, and begged him that he leave them on the island of Madeira, and so they remained. The rest of them offered themselves to any hardship and danger, and followed their Provincial; and they (fol. 153a) and the rest who went in the vessel, confessed themselves at the advice of the father before sailing from the port, and received the body of Christ our Lord on the eve of the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The father distributed among them some Agnus Dei and some holy articles that he had brought from Rome. All prepared themselves and armed themselves for any danger of death.

Those who went with father Ignacio de Azevedo, took leave of the others, their brethren who remained with father Pedro Diaz and in the other vessel, with extraordinary tenderness and an abundance of tears, like those who devined that they were never to see each other again till the other life. And sailing around the Canaries their familiar conversations were about

martyrdom, and speaking among themselves, said: O if it should only please God our Lord that upon this sea, we should meet with someone who, for the cause of the Catholic faith would take our lives! What a happy fate and what a joyous day it would be for us, and of how many and how cruel enemies we should free ourselves with this one enemy of our bodies! While engaged in these conversations, finding themselves very near the port of La Palma, they saw bearing down upon them five French vessels, in which was Jaques Soria, a famous corsair, and subject of the Queen of Navarre; he and his (fol. 154) Queen professed heresy and were capital enemies of the Catholics. He came in a large, powerful galleon with much artillery and many men. Father Ignacio, when he saw the danger, knew that this was what his heart had previously told him and what the Lord had given him to understand. And after encouraging his people to fight and die for the faith, showing them that they could not fail to gain the victory, either conquering their enemies or dying at the hands of the heretics for Jesus Christ, he drew forth a portrait of our Lady, painted by Saint Lucas, which he had brought from Rome, and turning to his companions who were singing the Litany, and with copious tears asking the Lord for mercy and for forgiveness of their sins, and with cheerful mien and courageous heart, said to them: Up, my dear brethren! My heart tells me that on this day, just as we are, we are all to go to dwell in Heaven with Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, and with the glorious Virgin Mary, his mother and all that blessed company. Do you not see how greatly we are favored, for instead of Brazil we are making port in Heaven? Let us pray, brethren, and bear in mind that this is the last hour that God gives us, to deserve and prepare ourselves to die for love of him. (fol. 154a) All raised their hands, and with eyes filled with tears raised to heaven, said in a loud voice: "Let it be so, Lord: may thy holy will be fulfilled in us, for we are all here ready to give our blood for you." To be brief, the heretics came and grappled with the Santiago and although there was some resistance and there were some deaths among the enemy, they boarded the ship and overpowered it. And when Jaques Soria learned that there were fathers of the Company of Jesus on board, he commanded that they be all killed, without sparing anyone, saying in a loud voice: "Kill, Kill the Papists who are going to sow false doctrine in Brazil." And though he had spared the lives of two secular clerks and other fathers of Saint Francis who had fallen into his hands a few days before, so great was the hatred and rage he had against the Jesuits (for so he called the members of the Company), that he did not wish to pardon any, although many

of them were young and novices. After the vessel had been captured Jacques himself approached with his galleon and cried: "Throw these dogs of Jesuits, these papists and enemies of ours into the sea." As soon as they heard this command of their captain, his heretical soldiers, (Calvinists, like himself) grappled with our men, and stripping them of their poor cassocks, and giving them many wounds, especially to those (fol. 155) who were priests and wore the tonsure, and cutting off the arms of some of them, threw them into the sea. But because father Ignacio de Azevedo like a valiant soldier of God and a priest and Captain of the others, was encouraging them with the image of our Lady in his hands and saying: "Let us die cheerfully, brethren, for the service of God and for the confession of his faith which these, his enemies, impugn," one of the heretics slashed his holy head so fiercely that it was cleft open to the brain. And the valiant priest without withdrawing nor moving from the spot awaited the blow; and there they gave him three lance thrusts, so that he fell, saying in a loud voice: "May men and angels be my witness that I die in defence of the holy Roman Church and all that it confesses and teaches." And turning to his companions and embracing them with singular charity and cheerfulness, he said: "Children of my heart, have no fear of death; be grateful for the mercy which God shows you in giving you the fortitude to die for Him, and since we have so faithful a witness, and so liberal a remunerator, let us not be faint-hearted nor weak to fight the battles of the Lord." And having said these words, he expired. The heretics attempted to wrest from his hands the image of our Lady, but were unable to do so. Brother Benito de Castro, who, bearing a crucifix in his hand and showing it, said: "I am a Catholic and son of the Roman Church," him they pierced with three shots of an arquebus. And seeing that he was still upright and continuing in his confession, they gave him many sword-thrusts, and before he expired, they cast him into the sea. Another brother, named Manuel Alvarez, who was burning with living flames for the love of Gd and desired to die for him, and who rebuked the heretics for their blindness, him they wounded in the face, and being stretched on the ground, they broke his legs and arms. They did not kill him, in order that he might suffer greater pain, and he, turning his peaceful eyes upon his brethren, said: "Envy me, I beg you, brethren, and do not pity me, for I confess that I never deserved of God so much good as he does me in these torments and this death. Fifteen years I have been in the Company, and for ten years I have wished and prepared myself for this voyage to Brazil and with this happy death I consider myself well rewarded by God and the

Company for all my services." And breathing his last breath, they cast him into the sea. And because they found two brethren kneeling in prayer before the images which they (the heretics) so hated, they attacked them with diabolical rage and fury, breaking the skull of (fol. 156) one of them with the pommel of a sword, and scattering his brains, so that he fell dead. This brother's name was Blas Ribero. The other brother, who was named Diego de Fonseca, received such a dagger-thrust in the mouth that it severed his tongue, and crushed his jaw-bone. And father Diego de Andrada (who, father Azevedo being dead, was the chief and head of the rest), because they saw that he was a priest and had confessed some of his companions, and was encouraging them, saying: "Prepare your souls, my brethren, for your redemption is close at hand," him, after giving him many stabs, they cast, still living, into the sea. While this was happening two of the brethren named Gregorio Escrivano and Alvaro Mendez were sick in their beds, and though they might have concealed their fear and remained quiet, yet with the desire they had of dying for Christ, they arose as best they could and putting on their cassocks, with bare feet and half naked, they joined their brethren, that they might not lose so good an opportunity, and so they died with them. The heretics had carried another brother named Simon de Acosta to the galleon of Jaques, thinking that he was the son of some gentleman or titled personage, for he had this appearance and was only 18 years old, and of good manners. Jaques called him aside and asked him whether he also (fol. 156a) belonged to the Jesuit priests. And though by denying it he could have escaped with his life, he would not, but rather confessed that he was a companion in religion and a brother of those who died for the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman faith. This so enraged Jaques that he had him beheaded and cast into the sea. In this manner the heretics, on account of their hatred and abhorrence of our holy religion, killed thirty-nine fathers and brethren of our Company. It is not right that we should keep silent as to their names, for they are written in the book of life. They were: the Provincial Ignacio de Azevedo, Diego de Andrada, Antonio Suarez, Benito de Castro, Juan Fernandez de Lisboa, Francisco Alvarez Covillo, Domingo Hernandez, Manuel Alvarez, Juan de Mayorga, Aragonese; Alonso de Valera, of the Kingdom of Toledo, Gonzalo Enriquez Diacono, Juan Fernandez de Braga, Alexo Delgado, Luis Correa of Evora, Manuel Rodriguez de Halconete, Simon Lopez, Manuel Hernandez, Alvaro Mendez, Pedro Munoz, Francisco Magallanes, Nicolas Diney de Verganza, Gaspar Alvarez, Blas Ribero de Braga, Antonio Hernandez de Montemayor,

Manuel Pacheco, Pedro de Fontaura, Simon de Acosta, Andrez Gonzalez (fol. 157) de Viana, Amaro Vaz, Diego Perez de Mizca, Juan de Baeza, Marcos Caldera, Antonio Correa del Puerto, Hernan Sanchez of the province of Castile, Gregorio Escrivano of Logroño, Francisco Perez Godoy of Torrijos, Juan de Zafra of Toledo, Juan de San Martin, native of Illescas and Estevan Zurayre Vizcaino. The latter was a very artless man, and when he left Plasencia for this voyage he said to father Joseph de Acosta, who was his confessor, that he was going cheerfully to Brazil, because he was certain that he was to die a martyr. And being asked how he knew it, he replied that God had revealed it to him. So that of forty of the Company who were in that vessel, one man alone, Juan Sanchez escaped death, and it was in this manner. When the heretics separated the men, putting on one side those who were to be killed and on the other those who were to be spared, they examined their hands and garments. And when they saw that the brother was young, that his hands were dirty and callous and that he wore a short beggarly jacket, they asked him whether he was the cook, he answered yes, which was the truth. They therefore kept him to make use of him in the kitchen (fol. 157a) and he remained with them until they returned to France, where our Lord freed him of their control, that he might be a witness and relate to us what we have here told of the death of his companions, although not he alone, but many others were present and afterwards gave an account of all that had happened. But in order that the number should be exact, and that there should be forty crowns for the forty of the company who had entered into the vessel with the purpose of dying for Jesus Christ, in place of this brother Juan Sanchez, who escaped, the Lord gave us another who was called San Juan, a virtuous and upright youth, and nephew of the Ship's captain. He took such a liking to the brethren of the Company, that he asked to be admitted to it. And although father Ignacio did not receive him, he never left his side, nor did he cease to take part in the prayers and penance of the brethren, and he considered himself as one of them, and as such was treated. At the time when the heretics separated those of the company from the secular persons, he passed over to their side (i. e. of the fathers), and without a word allowed himself to be lead to death, in order, by this means, to enter into the Company of the blessed in Heaven. So that if we count San Juan as one of the Company, there were forty (fol. 158) who died. And if we do not consider him as such (for he had not yet been admitted) there were thirty-nine. All the rest of them the heretics spared. For they were all corsairs and heretics; in so far as they were

corsairs they wished to rob and not kill; and in so far as they were heretics, to kill and rob those who made any resistance. With these they wage a war with fire and swords (as they say) and proclaim that, because of them, their false gospel no longer prevails and rules in the world.

Concerning Twelve Others of the Company Who Likewise Died at The Hands of The Heretics

Chapter XI

We must not forget the other fathers and brethren whom we left on the Island of Madeira with father Pedro Diaz, for they are no less worthy of memory than those who are already gone. But passing over in silence the hardships which they and those in the other vessel suffered in their voyage (which was long and dangerous), let us mention only what is to our purpose. After having been fifteen months at sea, and on the Islands of Barlovento, San Domingo and Cuba, with frightful storms and (fol. 158a) many dangers, and arriving at the Island of Terceiva, fourteen of the Company with father Diaz were taken on the leading ship of the Governor, don Luys de Vasconcelos. The latter was obliged to leave the other ships he had, on account of the many men who had left him and others who had died, and with those who were left manned one vessel, with which he sailed, on Sept. 6, 1571, from the Island of Terceira for Brazil. After sailing with prosperous winds for eight days, they suddenly discovered five vessels, four French (commanded by Juan Cadavillo, a Frenchman and great heretic, and as cruel an enemy of the Catholics as Jaques Soria) and one English, and all of them heretical corsairs and capital enemies of our holy religion. Don Luys at once recognized his danger and exhorted his men to fight valiantly for their faith and their lives. Those of the Company he admonished with earnestness to make their peace with God if they wished to fight well and hoped to be favored. The Governor confessed first, and after him the soldiers and the others, and there was time to do it, for night had intervened a short time after our ship discovered those of the enemy. But in the morning, at dawn (fol. 159) the heretical corsairs fell upon them, and though they met with great resistance and lost many men, they boarded the vessel and overcame it. In the battle, which was very bitterly contested, they first killed the Governor, who, fighting valiantly, fell pierced by two shots, and received many other wounds, and, without being recognized by his enemies, was stripped and cast into the

sea. The Captain having been killed, the enemies overcame the ship and took possession of it, and entering with great fury into a little cabin where father Castro was hearing the penance of the master of the vessel, who was severely wounded and about to die. On seeing him (father Castro) they recognized that he was a Catholic priest and that he was adminstering the sacrement of the confession, which they so much hated. They fell upon him with great rage and killed him. They did the same to father Pedro Diaz, who up to that time had likewise been confessing, and who had hastened up to where father Castro and brother Gaspar Goes were. As the latter was a youth of tender years the father had ordered him not to part from his side. The other eleven who remained alive encouraged one another to be constant and to die cheerfully for the Catholic faith. The heretics, after (fol. 159a) striking them with their fists, insulting and maltreating them, bound their hands behind their backs and locked them up in a compartment and placed guards over them. But because brother Miguel Aragones, as his hands were being tied, uttered a groan of pain (for he was badly wounded in the arm) they threw him, and another brother who was by his side, into the sea. The rest remained bound that night, listening to the greatest insults and reproaches, and to frightful blasphemies against God our Lord and his Church, as they were uttered by those infernal furies. Day having come, the first prayer the heretics made was to condemn to death all Jesuits, their enemies, for so they call them and for such they hold all members of the Company. At first they resolved to hang them all to the yards of the vessel, but afterwards, thnking they might get great wealth of gold and silver from them, (which they thought they were bringing to Brazil to adorn the Churches), they gave up their plan, until, realizing that they were disappointed, they attacked them with the greatest barbarity, insulted them and beat them with clubs, calling them dogs, thieves, Papists (fol. 160) and enemies of God. Those of the Company neither defended themselves, nor did they avoid death, but meek as lambs they permitted themselves to be cast into the sea. Five of the fortunate brethren who knew how to swim, came together, and being in the water encouraged one another to die, until strength and breath failing them, they said: "*Tibi soli peccavi,*" and three of them expired. Of the other two, one, named Diego Hernandez swam so long till he reached one of the smaller French vessels which was lagging behind, and into which he was taken up and sheltered by the will of the Lord. The other, who was named Sebastian Lopez remained in the sea that night, which was very dark and much rain was falling. But seeing a light on

one of the vessels about half a league off, he followed it till he reached it, and entreated those on the vessel to help him and take him on board. But he found only cruel words and worse deeds (as those of the heretics are wont to be) and as a last remedy he went to one of the barks or small boats, and into it he was received by a man who, although a heretic and an enemy, was not so cruel nor furious as the rest, in a word, was more human. The latter received him and hid him in a corner, giving him (fol. 160a) something to eat and some clothing. Twelve men died on this ship: father Pedro Diaz, father Francisco de Castro, and the following brethren: Alonso Hernandez, Gaspar Gois, Andres Pays, Juan Alvarez, another Pedro Diaz, Fernando Alvarez, Miguel Aragones, Francisco Paulo, Pedro Hernandez, Diego Carvallo, and the two who escaped by swimming(from whom and from others this story was learned) were named Sebastian Lopez and Diego Hernandez, as we have said.

This time the heretics were not satisfied with shedding the innocent blood of so many servants of God because they defended and preached the holy Catholic faith, but they also showed their rage and fury against God himself and against his Saints. For, having found some relics and images of Saints and Agnus Dei and consecrated beads and other articles of devotion (which our men carried with them for their comfort and consolation and to awaken the piety of the faithful in Brazil) the heretics showed their impiety and hatred toward them by dragging them about, stamping upon them and subjecting them to all the contempt and insult that they were able, finally casting them into the sea. So that by his own works we may know who he is who guides them and induces them to commit such impious, cruel and grievous acts. (fol. 161)

I have dwelt upon this narrative because the martyrdom of these fifty-one fathers and brethren of the Company is such an exemplary matter for all who read it. And for those of the Company, especially, it is an inestimable benefit which we have received from the Lord, and a great incentive to imitate those who have gone before us, and to seek new opportunites to increase and extend throughout the world the light of the holy Gospel and to wrest from the claws of Satan the souls which Christ our Lord redeemed with his blood, although it be at the cost of our own and with the loss of all that the world promises and cannot fulfil. But it is now time that we again take up the thread of our story and continue what we have begun concerning the life of father Francisco. The latter, when he received the news of the happy death of those his doughty warriors and blessed sons, although on the one

hand he felt great sorrow because Brazil had need of them, on the other he rejoiced much more on seeing that, in his time, the Lord deigned to accept this offering and sacrifice of blood which the Company offered him. And with great tenderness and feeling he commended the dead and praised their virtues and supplicated the Lord that he should give grace to those who remained.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS, 1690-1820.

PART XII: PENNSYLVANIA (A–N)

COMPILED BY CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM

The following bibliography attempts, first, to present a historical sketch of every newspaper printed in the United States from 1690 to 1820; secondly, to locate all files found in the various libraries of the country; and thirdly, to give a complete check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

The historical sketch of each paper gives the title, the date of establishment, the name of the editor or publisher, the frequency of issue and the date of discontinuance. It also attempts to give the exact date of issue when a change in title or name of publisher or frequency of publication occurs.

In locating files to be found in various libraries, no attempt is made to list every issue. In the case of common papers which are to be found in many libraries, only the longer files are noted, with a description of their completeness. Rare newspapers, which are known by only a few scattered issues, are minutely listed.

The check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society follows the style of the Library of Congress "Check List of Eighteenth Century Newspapers," and records all supplements, missing issues and mutilations.

The arrangement is alphabetical by States and towns. Towns are placed according to their present State location. For convenience of alphabetization, the initial "The" in the titles of papers is disregarded. Papers are considered to be of folio size, unless otherwise stated. There are no abbreviations

except in the names of the libraries where files are located, and these should be easily understood. A superior italic "m" is used in the listing of the Society's files to signify mutilated copy. The bibliography includes only newspapers, and does not list magazines; the distinction has sometimes been difficult to draw, but the test has generally been the inclusion of current news. Neither in the historical sketches nor in the listing of files is any account taken of the existence of the paper after 1820.

All files, except in a few instances, have been personally examined by the compiler of this list, and the facts stated have been drawn from an inspection of the papers themselves and not based on secondary authorities.

The bibliography will be published in the Proceedings in about fifteen installments, after which the material will be gathered into a volume, with an historical introduction, acknowledgement of assistance rendered, and a comprehensive index of titles and names of printers. Reprints of each installment will not be made, nor will the names of papers or printers be indexed in the Proceedings. Since the material will be held in type until after the printing of the final installment, the compiler will welcome additions and corrections.

PENNSYLVANIA

[Allentown] Friedensbothe, 1812-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 28, 1812, by Joseph Ehrenfried and Co. [Heinrich Ebner], with the title of "Der Friedens-Bothe und Lecha County Anzeiger." With the issue of Oct. 6, 1814, the title was altered to "Der Friedens-Bothe und Lecha, Northampton, Bucks und Montgomery Counties Anzeiger." With the issue of Apr. 6, 1815, Heinrich Ebner became sole publisher. With the issue of Oct. 3, 1816, the word "Wochentlichen" was added to the title before "Anzeiger." The paper was continued until after 1820.

Lehigh Co. Hist. Soc., Allentown, has Sept. 28, 1812-Dec. 29, 1820. Easton Pub. Lib. has Mar. 7, 1816; Jan. 23, Mar. 27, Aug. 14, Sept. 25, Oct. 9, 16, Nov. 6, 20-Dec. 4, 18, 1817; Jan. 7, 14, 28, Feb. 4, Mar. 4, 18, Apr. 8, 22, 29, May 27, June 10, 25, July 16, Aug. 6, 27, 1819. Harvard has Aug. 27-Sept. 17, 1819.

[Allentown] Lehigh Centinel, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established in June 1817, by Charles L. Hütter. On Nov. 6, 1820, Charles L. Hütter retired and the paper was published by his father, Christian J. Hütter, and was so continued until after 1820 ("History of Lehigh County", 1914, vol. 1, p. 279). No copy located.

[Allentown] Northampton Adverteiser, 1808-1809.

Weekly. Established Feb. 20, 1808, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of June 11, 1808, no. 17, published by Carl Brückmann, with the title of "Northampton Adverteiser und Allentaun Gazette." The last issue located is that of Sept. 8, 1809, no. 70.

Schwenkfelder Hist. Lib., Pennsburg, has June 11, July 30, Aug. 20, Sept. 10-24, Oct. 15, Dec. 30, 1808; Mar. 10, Apr. 7, June 23, July 28, Sept. 1, 8, 1809.

[Allentown] Unabhaengige Republikaner, 1810-1820+.

Weekly. Established July 27, 1810, by Christian Jacob Hütter, with the title of "Der Unabhaengige Republikaner." With the issue of July 24, 1812, the publisher became Carl L. Hütter, and the title changed to "Der Unabhaengige Republikaner und Lecha County Freiheits Freund." With the issue of Apr. 15, 1814, the title reverted to "Der Unabhaengige Republikaner" and the name of the publisher was given in the imprint as Carl Ludwig Hütter. With the issue of Nov. 2, 1820, Georg Hanke became the publisher and continued the paper after 1820.

Lehigh Co. Hist. Soc. has July 27, 1810-Dec. 28, 1820. Mr. Reuben Kolb, Easton, has July 27, 1810-July 16, 1813.

[Beaver] Crisis, 1813-1816.

Weekly. Established May 22, 1813, by J[ames] & A[ndrew] Logan with the title of "The Crisis." The title was enlarged, in May 1814, probably, to "The Crisis, or Beaver Gazette," and A. Logan became sole publisher. Issues of Dec. 25, 1813, Apr. 30, 1814, Sept. 30, 1815 and Apr. 18, 1816 are mentioned in F. S. Reader's "History of Newspapers of Beaver County," 1905, p. 13. In 1816, the title was changed to "The Beaver Gazette," which see.

A. A. S. has:

1815. Apr. 22.

Beaver Gazette, 1816-1818.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Crisis, or Beaver Gazette." The earliest issue located with the new title of "The Beaver Gazette" is that of Jan. 4, 1817, vol. 4, no. 31, published by A[ndrew] Logan. An issue of Apr. 4, 1818 is mentioned in F. S. Reader's "History of Newspapers of Beaver County," p. 14, where it is also stated that on Sept. 1, 1818, this paper was succeeded by the "Western Argus."

A. A. S. has:

1817. Jan. 4.

[Beavertown] Minerva, 1807-1811.

Weekly. Established Nov. 4, 1807, by John Berry, with the title of "Minerva." The issue of Dec. 19, 1808, was printed for the publisher by Joseph Israel. The records of the Beaver Council mention John Berry as a printer as late as January 1811 (see "History of Beaver County," 1888, p. 272, and F. S. Reader, "History of Newspapers of Beaver County," 1905, pp. 8-11). No copy located. The issue of Nov. 4, 1807, was owned by Abram Bestwick of New Brighton, Pa., in 1905.

[Beaver] Western Argus, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 1, 1818, by James Logan, with the title of "Western Argus," and continued until after 1820 (J. H. Bausman, "History of Beaver County," 1904, vol. 1, no. 456).

[Beaver-Town] Western Cabinet, 1811-1812.

Weekly. Established by Joseph W. White, Sept. 28, 1811, with the title of "Western Cabinet." The last issue located is that of Feb. 24, 1812, vol. 1, no. 21.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 28, 1811. A. A. S. has:

1811. Sept. 28.
Oct. 7, 21.
1812. Feb. 24.

Bedford Gazette, 1805-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 21, 1805, by Charles M'Dowell, with the title of "The Bedford Gazette," and so continued until after 1820.

Penn. State Lib. has Sept. 21, 1805-Oct. 26, 1808; Nov. -Dec. , 1820. Bedford Gazette Office has Sept. 28, Oct. 26, 1805; Oct. 27, 1807. Harvard has Aug. 14, Sept. 12, 1810; Aug. 14, 1811. A. A. S. has:

1808. July 12.
1810. June 27.
Aug. 15, 29.

[Bedford] True American, 1813-1820+.

Weekly. Established in July 1813, judging from the date of the earliest issue noted, that of Nov. 9, 1814, vol. 2, no. 16, published by Thomas R. Gettys, with the title of "The True American" ("History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties", 1884, p. 228.) The issues of Aug. 7, 1816 and Feb. 3, 1820 have the same title and publisher.

Lib. Congress has Aug. 7, 1816. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Feb. 3, 1820.

[Bellefonte] American Patriot, 1814-1817.

Weekly. Established Feb. 15, 1814, by Alexander Hamilton, with the title of "American Patriot." The last issue was that of Sept. 22, 1817 (J. B. Linn, "History of Centre and Clinton Counties," 1883, p. 53). No copy located.

[Bellefonte] Independent Republican, 1816-1817.

"In September, 1816, Hugh Maxwell removed 'The Advocate of the Union' from Mifflinburg, in Union County, the name of which he changed to the 'Independent Republican.' He continued this paper not quite a year at Bellefonte, and then removed to Lancaster" (J. B. Linn, "History of Centre and Clinton Counties," 1883, p. 56). No copy located.

Bellefonte Patriot, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 18, 1818, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 24, 1818, vol. 1, no. 15, published by W[illiam] Brindle, with the title of "Bellefonte Patriot." Continued until after 1820.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 24, 1818. Lib. Congress has Apr. 5, 1819. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 16, 1819.

Berwick Independent American, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 2, 1818, by William Carothers, with the title of "The Berwick Independent American." A few of the earliest numbers were published in Nescopeck, directly across the river from

Berwick (J. H. Battle, "History of Columbia and Montour Counties," 1887, pt. 2, p. 116). In the issue of June 2, 1821, vol. 3, no. 52, in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, Carothers states "We have now completed the third year's publication." No earlier copy located.

[Bethany] Wayne County Mirror, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 7, 1818, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Mar. 28, 1818, vol. 1, no. 4, published by Manning & Loomis (James Manning and Leonard Loomis), with the title of "Wayne County Mirror." In May or June, 1818, the name of the publishing firm became J. Manning & Co. The paper was continued until after 1820.

Wyoming Hist. Soc. has Mar. 28, Apr. 25, 1818. N. J. Hist. Soc. has June 27, Sept. 26, Oct. 10, Nov. 14, Dec. 12, 1818; Jan. 16, 1819.

[Bristol] Aurora, 1799, see under Philadelphia.

[Brownsville] American Telegraph, 1814-1818.

Weekly. Established late in 1814 by J[ohn] Bouvier. The only issue located, that of July 9, 1817, is numbered vol. 3, no. 140, and bears the title of "American Telegraph." In April 1818, Bouvier removed to Uniontown, where he united the paper with "The Genius of Liberty."

A. A. S. has:

1817. July 9.

Brownsville Gazette, 1809-1810.

Weekly. The issue of Jan. 14, 1809, was published by John Berry (Ellis, "History of Fayette County," 1882, p. 437). Early in 1810, the paper was published by William Campbell (Thomas, "History of Printing," ed. 1874, vol. 2, p. 301). No copy located.

[Brownsville] Western Palladium, 1812.

A paper with this title existed in 1812 (Ellis, "History of Fayette County," 1882, p. 437). No copy located.

[Brownsville] Western Register, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established early in 1817 by Robert Fee, and continued until after 1820. The issue of Mar. 22, 1819, is numbered vol. 2, no. 50, and bears the title of "The Western Register and Brownsville Gazette."

A. A. S. has:

1819. Mar. 22.

[Brownsville] Western Repository, 1810.

Weekly. Published in 1810 by James Alexander (Thomas, "History of Printing," ed. 1874, vol. 2, p. 301, and Ellis, "History of Fayette County," 1882, p. 437). No copy located.

[Bustleton] Porcupine's Gazette, 1799, see under Philadelphia.

Butler Centinel, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 7, 1820, judging from the date of an issue of Nov. 18, 1820, vol. 1, no. 7, published by Moses & John Sullivan.

Mr. Peter Duffy, Butler, Pa., has Nov. 18, 1820.

Butler Palladium, 1818-1820.

Weekly. Established June 20, 1818, by John Galbraith, with the title of "The Butler Palladium and Republican Star." The last issue located is that of Mar. 27, 1919, vol. 1, no. 41, and the paper was evidently succeeded in 1820 by the Butler Centinel.

Mr. Peter Duffy, Butler, Pa., has Mar. 27, 1819.

A. A. S. has:

1818. June 20, 27.

[Carlisle] American Volunteer 1814-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 15, 1814, by W[illiam] B. & J[ames] Underwood, with the title of "American Volunteer." With the issue of Sept. 8, 1819, the name of James Underwood appeared in the imprint as sole publisher, but with Sept. 23, 1819, the firm name reverted

to W. B. & J. Underwood, and was so continued until after 1820.

Hamilton Lib., Carlisle, has Sept. 15, 1814-Dec. 28, 1820. Dickinson College, Carlisle, has Sept. 15, 1814-Sept. 5, 1816; Sept. 16, 1819-Dec. 28, 1820.

[Carlisle] Cumberland Register, 1805-1814.

Weekly. Established Sept. 20, 1805, by Archibald Loudon, with the title of "The Cumberland Register." With the issue of Sept. 20, 1809, the title was altered to "Cumberland Register." The last issue located is that of Sept. 15, 1813, vol. 8, no. 416, although an issue of June 22, 1814 is mentioned in the "History of Cumberland and Adams Counties," 1886, pt. 2, p. 189.

Lib. Congress has Sept. 20, 1805-Sept. 15, 1813. Hamilton Lib., Carlisle, has Sept. 20, 1805-Sept. 13, 1809. A. A. S. has:

1810. July 11, 18.

[Carlisle] Eagle, 1799-1802.

Weekly. Established Oct. 3, 1799, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 10, 1800, vol. 1, no. 50, published by John P. Thompson, with the title of "The Eagle, or, Carlisle Herald." The only other issue located, that of Mar. 19, 1800, is a fragment with the volume numbering and part of the title torn off. This paper was succeeded by the "Carlisle Herald," in the early issues of which Thompson advertised in order to obtain payment from his subscribers. Thompson established "The Frederick-town Herald" June 19, 1802.

Hamilton Lib., Carlisle, has Mar. 19, 1800. A. A. S. has:

1800. Sept. 10^{m}.

Carlisle Gazette, 1785-1817.

Weekly. Established Aug. 10, 1785, by Kline & Reynolds (George Kline and George Reynolds), with the title of "The Carlisle Gazette, and the Western Repository of Knowledge." With the issue of Aug. 3, 1791, George

Kline became sole publisher. The issues of Dec. 11, 18, 1793, and Jan. 1, 1794, because of scarcity of paper, were printed in small folio and bore the abbreviated title "The Carlisle Gazette." With the issue of Jan. 8, 1794, the title was changed to "Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette." From scarcity of paper, the issues from Jan. 22 to Mar. 19, 1794 again were printed on smaller paper and bore the title of "The Carlisle Gazette," but with Mar. 26, 1794, the new title of "Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette" was resumed. With the issue of Aug. 3, 1810, the title was changed to "Kline's Weekly Carlisle Gazette." The last issue located is that of Oct. 23, 1817, vol. 33, no. 1710. In November 1817, the paper was consolidated with the "Spirit of the Times" under a new title of the "Spirit of the Times & Carlisle Gazette," which see. Kline died Nov. 19, 1820, being described as the "former editor of the Carlisle Gazette."

Lib. Congress has Aug. 10, 1785-July 30, 1788; June 9, 1790; Jan. 7, 1801. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has Aug. 8, 1787-Oct. 23, 1817. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 3, 1791-Dec. 25, 1793. Harvard has Mar. 4, June 3-24, July 15, 29, Sept. 2, 1795; Apr. 13, May 11, 18, June 8, 22, July 6-Oct. 12, 26, Nov. 2, 23, 1796-Mar. 22, Apr. 5-19, 1797. Hamilton Lib., Carlisle, has Jan. 7, 1801-Dec. 28, 1804. Phil. Lib. Co. has Oct. 16, 1793. Colgate Lib., Hamilton, has Oct. 26, Nov. 23, Dec. 14, 1803. Washington Co. Hist. Soc., Washington, Pa., has Dec. 19, 1806. Penn. State Lib. has Oct. 8, 1813; Apr. 29, 1814. A. A. S. has:

1786. Dec. 27.
1788. Jan. 16.
1793. Nov. 27.
1794. Feb. 5.
Suppl. Feb. 5.
July 9.
Dec. 17.
1810. June 29.
July 13, 20, 27.
Aug. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.

[Carlisle] Kline's Carlisle Gazette, see Carlisle Gazette.

Carlisle Herald, 1802-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 30, 1802, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 11, 1802, vol. 1, no. 7, published by William Alexander, Jun., with the title of "Carlisle Herald." In July 1807, George Phillips was admitted to partnership, under the firm name of Alexander & Phillips. With the issue of Mar. 30, 1815, the partnership was dissolved and the paper published by George Phillips and was so continued until after 1820.

Hamilton Lib., Carlisle, has Aug. 9, 1805-May 29, 1807; Feb. 7, 1812-Sept. 28, 1815. Penn. State Lib. has July 23, 1813-June 27, 1816. Lib. Congress has Apr. 24, 1817. A. A. S. has:

1802. Aug. 11.
1804. Feb. 1, 29.
Mar. 7, 14.
1807. Aug. 21.
1811. Feb. 8.
1815. June 22m.

Carlisle Patriot, 1819.

In the "Greensburgh Gazette" of Sept. 17, 1819, is the following: "Died at Carlisle, Sept. 2, 1819, Mr. George Gangewer, editor of the German 'Carlisle Patriot', in the 26th year of his age." No paper with this title has been located. The "Carlisle Republican" of Sept. 7, 1819, refers to him as "Mr. George Gangewher, late editor of the Carlisle Patriot."

Carlisle Republican, 1819-1820.

Weekly. Established May 11, 1819, by Jacob R. Stine, with the title of "The Carlisle Republican." It succeeded the "Spirit of the Times & Carlisle Gazette" and continued its advertisements, but adopted a new volume numbering. With the issue of Nov. 9, 1819, John M'Farland became the publisher and adopted a new

volume numbering. The last issue located is that of Oct. 24, 1820, vol. 1, no. 51.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has May 11, 1819-Oct. 24, 1820. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has Nov. 23, 1819-Oct. 6, 1820.

[Carlisle] Spirit of the Times, 1817-1819.

Weekly. Removed from Shippensburg and consolidated with "Kline's Weekly Carlisle Gazette" under the title of "Spirit of the Times & Carlisle Gazette," The first issue was that of Nov. 10, 1817, vol. 1, no. 1, published by John M'Farland. With the issue of Aug. 17, 1818, the title was altered to "The Spirit of the Times and Carlisle Gazette," but on Dec. 22, 1818, the initial "The" was omitted, and on Feb. 9, 1819, "and" was changed to "&". The last issue with this title was that of May 4, 1819, vol. 2, no. 78, when the title was changed to "The Carlisle Republican," which see.

H. Kellogg, Meadville, has Nov. 10, 1817-Apr. 20, 1819. Hist. Soc. Penn. has Dec. 8, 1817-Apr. 27, 1819. Penn. State Lib. has Jan. 5, 1818.

[Carlisle] Telegraphe, 1795-1796.

Weekly. Established Feb. 10, 1795, by Steel and M'Clean (James Steel and John S. M'Clean), with the title of "The Telegraphe." With the issue of Feb. 16, 1796, James Steel became sole publisher. The last issue located is that of May 3, 1796, vol. 2, no. 65.

Harvard has Feb. 10, 17, Mar. 3, 10, 24, June 2, 16, July 14, 28, Nov. 17, 1795; Jan. 5, Feb. 16, Mar. 1, 22, Apr. 5, May 3, 1796. Lib. Congress has Aug. 18, 1795.

[Carlisle] Times, 1814.

In "Kline's Weekly Carlisle Gazette" of July 29, 1814, it is stated that George Kline would resume the German newspaper "The Times", of which he gave two specimen numbers a short time before. No copy, however, has been located. The Lancaster "Volksfreund" in 1816

mentions a Mr. Peterson [H. W. Peterson] of Carlisle as a publisher of a German paper (Seidensticker, "First Century of German Printing," p. 196)

[Carlisle] Unpartheyische Americaner, 1807-1809.

Weekly. Established in April, 1807, judging from the date of the only issue located, that of Sept. 13, 1809, no. 128, entitled "Der Unpartheyische Americaner." It was published at the west corner of Hanover and Pomfret streets, but the name of the printer is not given. Friedrich Sanno was printing in German at Carlisle in 1808-1809.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 13, 1809.

[Chambersburg] Democratic Republican, 1815-1817.

Weekly. Established Nov. 7, 1815, by John McFarland, with the title of "Democratic Republican." On Apr. 30, 1816, the title was changed to "Democratic Republican and Pennsylvania Advertiser." The last issue at Chambersburg was that of May 12, 1817, when the publisher removed to Shippensburg, and established "The Spirit of the Times."

There is a file owned by H. Kellogg, Nov. 7, 1815-May 12, 1817, not examined by the compiler. A. A. S. has:

1816. Mar. 12[m].
June 17.

[Chambersburg] Farmers' Register, 1798-1799.

Weekly. Established Apr. 18, 1798, by Snowden & M'Corkle (John M. Snowden and William M'Corkle), with the title of "The Farmers' Register." The last issue was that of Apr. 10, 1799, vol. 1, no. 52, when the publishers removed to Greensburg and started a paper with the same title.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Apr. 18, 1798-Apr. 10, 1799. Phil. Lib Co. has Apr. 18-July 25, Aug. 15, 29, Nov. 14-Dec. 19, 1798.

[Chambersburg] Franklin Repository, 1796-1820+.

Weekly. Established Apr. 21, 1796, by Dover & Harper (Andrew Dover and Robert Harper), with the title of "The Franklin Repository." It succeeded "The Chambersburg Gazette," continuing its advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. Dover retired in about a year, and Robert Harper published the paper until 1800, when he transferred it to his brother George K. Harper, who continued it until after 1820.

Franklin Repository office, Chambersburg, has a file, although not examined by the compiler. Harvard has May 5, 19-June 2, 23-July 14, 28-Aug. 18, Sept. 1-22, Oct. 6-27, Nov. 17, 1796-Mar. 30, Apr. 13, 20, 1797. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 26, 1799, photo. Lib. Congress has Nov. 20, 1800; Mar. 26, 1801; Apr. 20, 1811-Dec. 29, 1812; Mar. 15, 1814-Dec. 24, 1815. Wilson College, Chambersburg, has July 31, 1804-Apr. 9, 1805; Oct. 8, 1805-Mar. 8, 1808. A. A. S. has:

1801. Sept. 24.

[Chambersburg] Franklin Republican, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established in May 1817, by John Sloan, and continued by him until after 1820. Apr. 13, 1819 is numbered Vol. 2, No. 102.

Penn. State Lib. has April 13, May 25, June 22, 1819.

Chambersburg Gazette, 1793-1796.

Weekly. Established Sept. 12, 1793, by Robert Harper, with the title of "The Chambersburg Gazette," The last issue with this title was that of Apr. 7, 1796, vol. 3, no. 31, and on Apr. 21, it was succeeded by "The Franklin Repository," published by Robert Harper and Andrew Dover.

Phil. Lib. Co. has Oct. 17, 1793. Harvard has Feb. 12-Mar. 12, June 11, 18, July 30, Aug. 20, Sept. 3, Nov. 19, 1795; Feb. 18, Mar. 17-Apr. 7, 1796. A. A. S. has:

1793. Oct. 24.
Dec. 26.
1795. Dec. 3^{m}.

[Chambersburg] Pennsylvania Republican, 1808-1809.

Weekly. Established Jan. 27, 1808, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Mar. 2, 1808, vol. 1, no. 6, published by Richard White and Frederick Goeb, with the title of "Pennsylvania Republican." In a year or two, William Armor became the publisher, changing the title to "The Republican," which see.

A. A. S. has:

1808. Mar. 2.

[Chambersburg] Redliche Registrator, 1813-1820+.

Weekly. It is not known when this paper was established, but George K. Harper was publishing it previous to 1813 in connection with his English newspaper. It was in German and was called "Der Redliche Registrator" (I. H. M'Cauley, "Hist. Sketch of Franklin County," 1878, p. 67). Harper sold it to Frederick W. Schoepflin, who announced that his initial issue would appear Dec. 22, 1813 ("History of Franklin County," 1887, p. 253). Schoepflin continued the paper until after 1820.

In a note in F. Cumings' "Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country," 1810, p. 35, it is stated that a German newspaper was printed at Chambersburg.

[Chambersburg] Republican, 1809-1815.

Weekly. A continuation of the "Pennsylvania Republican," without change of volume numbering. The only issue located is that of June 26, 1810, vol. 3, no. 120, published by William Armor, with the title of "The Republican." When Armor first became the publisher, or when he retired, is not known. John Hershberger was printing at Chambersburg from 1810 to 1815, although in German, and is said by local historians to have been the publisher of this paper and to have sold it to John McFarland in 1815. McFarland certainly started a paper called the "Democratic Republican" on Nov. 7, 1815.

A. A. S. has:

1810. June 26.

[Chambersburg] Western Advertiser, 1790-1793.

Weekly. Established July 14, 1790, by William Davison, with the title of "The Western Advertiser and Chambersburg Weekly Newspaper." In 1793, he admitted Robert Harper to partnership. Davison died in the fall of 1793, and Robert Harper became sole publisher, changing the title of the paper, Sept. 12, 1793, to "The Chambersburg Gazette" (I. H. M'Cauley, "Hist. Sketch of Franklin County," 1878, p. 64).

[Chester] Post-Boy, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established Nov. 8, 1817, by Butler & Worthington (Steuben Butler and Eliphalet B. Worthington), with the title of "Post-Boy," and continued after 1820 (Ashmead, "History of Delaware Co.," 1884, p. 382). No copy located. Steuben Butler established "The Wyoming Herald," at Wilkesbarre, Sept. 18, 1818.

[Chestnut Hill] Chesnuthiller Wochenscrift, 1790-1794.

Weekly. Established Dec. 15, 1790, by Samuel Saur, with the title of "Die Chesnuthiller Wochenscrift." There was also a prospectus issue of Oct. 8, 1790. It was a paper of quarto size. The last issue located is that of Aug. 20, 1793, no. 138, but Seidensticker ("First Century of German Printing," p. 137) says that it was removed to Philadelphia in 1794, where Saur continued it under the title of "Das Philadelphier Wochenblat."

Phil. Lib. Co. (Locust St.) has Oct. 8, Dec. 15, 1790-Aug. 13, 1793. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Aug. 20, 1793. A. A. S. has:

1793. Apr. 2^{m}.

[Columbia] Columbian, 1819-1820.

Weekly. Established July 24, 1819, by William Greer, with the title of "The Columbian." After eighteen numbers had been published, it was suspended. In six

or eight months it was revived, but publication ceased altogether in a few months (Ellis & Evans, "History of Lancaster Co.," 1883, p. 570).

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 7, 1819.

[Columbia] Susquehanna Waterman, 1811-1812.

Weekly. Established Oct. 3, 1811, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Mar. 12, 1812, vol. 1, no. 24, published by Thomas A. Wilson, with the title of "Susquehanna Waterman and Columbia Advertiser."

A. A. S. has:

1812. Mar. 12.

Connellsville Herald, 1818.

Known through a reference in "The Reporter" of Washington, of Feb. 9, 1818, which quotes from the Connellsville Herald.

[Danville] Columbia Gazette, 1813-1814.

Weekly. Established by George Sweeny, Nov. 2, 1813, and continued for about a year (see Bell, "History of Northumberland County," 1891, p. 276 and Battle, "History of Columbia and Montour Counties," 1887, pt. 3, p. 67). No copy located.

[Danville] Express, 1815-1818.

Established by Jonathan Lodge in 1815, later published by Lodge and William Carothers (see D. H. B. Brower's "Danville," 1881, pp. 36, 70). No copy located.

[Danville] Watchman, 1820+.

Established by George Sweeny in 1820 (D. H. B. Brower's "Danville," 1881, pp. 36, 70). No copy located.

[Downington] American Republican, 1809-1820+.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Temperate Zone." The first issue

with the new title of "The American Republican" was that of Aug. 1, 1809, vol. 2, no. 61, published by Charles Mowry. With the issue of Sept. 3, 1811, the title was changed to "The Downington American Republican," but with Aug. 3, 1813, it reverted to "American Republican." Mowry continued to publish the paper until Nov. 28, 1820, with which issue Schultz & Marshall (William Schultz and William J. Marshall) became the publishers and commenced a new series.

West Chester Normal School Lib. has Aug. 1, 1809-Dec. 26, 1820. Chester Co. Hist. Soc., West Chester, has Oct. 19, 1813-Dec. 12, 1815. Chester Co. Law Lib., West Chester, has Jan. 2, 1816-Dec. 26, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 24, 1810. Penn. State Lib. has Dec. 3, 1811. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has July 28, 1818-Nov. 21, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1814. Feb. 1^{m}.
1815. Mar. 14^{m}.
1816. Mar. 12^{m}.

[Downington] Temperate Zone, 1808-1809.

Weekly. Established June 7, 1808, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of July 19, 1808, vol. 1, no. 7, published by Charles Mowry, with the title of "The Temperate Zone, and Chester & Delaware Advertiser." The last issue with this title was that of July 25, 1809, vol. 2, no. 60, after which the title was changed to "The American Republican," without change of volume numbering.

Harvard has July 19, 26, Aug. 9-23, Oct. 18, 1808. West Chester Normal School Lib. has June 20-July 25, 1809.

[Doylestown] Bucks County Messenger, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 28, 1819, by Simeon Siegfried, with the title of "Bucks County Messenger." Continued until after 1820.

Bucks Co. Hist. Soc., Doylestown, has June 28, Oct. 11, 1819; June 13, July 25, Aug. 1, 29, Sept. 12, Oct. 17, 31, Nov. 7, 21-Dec. 5, 19, 1820.

[Doylestown] Correspondent, see Pennsylvania Correspondent.

Doylestown Democrat, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 17, 1816, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 24, 1816, vol. 1, no. 2, published by Lewis Deffebach and Co., with the title of "Doylestown Democrat." With the issue of Dec. 24, 1816, Lewis Deffebach became sole publisher. In August 1820, Deffebach made an assignment, and the issue of Sept. 27, 1820 appeared with a new volume numbering, vol. 1, no. 1, whole no. 210, with no printer's name, but with an editorial announcement signed by Peter Keen. The paper was then suspended, publication being renewed Jan. 2, 1821.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 24, 1816. Bucks Co. Hist. Soc., Doylestown, has Oct. 8, 22, Dec. 17, 1816; Jan. 21, 28, Mar. 11, Apr. 1, 29, June 17, 24, July 8, 15, Sept. 9-Oct. 21, Nov. 11, Dec. 2, 23, 1817; June 30, July 14, 21, Sept. 1, 15, 22, Oct. 6, 27-Nov. 10, Dec. 8, 15, 1818; Mar. 9-23, Apr. 6-May 4, 18, June 1, 8, 22-July 10, 24, 1819; Jan. 11, 18, Feb. 8, Mar. 14, May 21, July 26, 1820. N. J. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 7, Sept. 27, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1816. Oct. 1, 8.
Nov. 12.
Dec. 24.

[Doylestown] Farmer's Weekly Journal, 1800-1801.

Weekly. Established July 25, 1800, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 5, 1800, vol. 1, no. 7, entitled "The Farmer's Weekly Journal," published by Isaac Ralston (see W. W. H. Davis, "History of Bucks Co.," 1905, vol. 2, p. 308, where it is called the Gazette). The last issue noted is that of Jan. 29, 1801, vol. 1, no. 27.

Bucks Co. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 18, 25, 1800. Lib. Congress has Dec. 30, 1800.

[Doylestown] Pennsylvania Correspondent, 1804-1820+.

Weekly. Established July 7, 1804, by Asher Miner, with the title of "Pennsylvania Correspondent, and Farmer's Advertiser." With the issue of Aug. 11, 1818, the title was shortened to "Correspondent and Farmers' Advertiser." Continued by Miner until after 1820.

Bucks Co. Hist. Soc., Doylestown, has July 7, 1804-Dec. 28, 1820. Harvard has May 14, 1805,-Feb. 12, 1807, fair. Penn. State Lib. has Dec. 15, 1807; Dec. 11, 1809; Aug. 10, 1812. Lib. Congress has Jan. 12, Mar. 1, 1808. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 23, 30, 1810. Schwenkfelder Hist. Soc., Pennsburg, has July 15, 1817. A. A. S. has:

1807. Mar. 5.
1809. July 10.
1810. Apr. 2.
May 14.
July 30.
Sept. 24.
1811. Jan. 28.

[Easton] American Eagle, 1799-1805.

Weekly. Established May 10, 1799, by Samuel Longcope, with the title of "The American Eagle." With the issue of Aug. 8, 1799, the title was altered to "American Eagle." The last issue located is that of Nov. 2, 1805, vol. 7, no. 340, which was nearly the last, if not the last, number.

Easton Pub. Lib. has May 10, 1799-Nov. 2, 1805. Harvard has May 17, June 14, 21, Aug. 2, 29-Sept. 12, Oct. 10, 24, 31, Dec. 19, 1799; Jan. 9, 23, Feb. 6-20, Mar. 13, Apr. 17-May 8, June 12, 26-July 24, Aug. 7, 21, Oct. 9, 23, 30, 1800; Oct. 9, 1801. Lib. Congress has Jan. 2, 1801. A. A. S. has:

1799. July 5.

Easton Centinel, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established July 1, 1817, by Christian J. Hutter & Son., with the title of "The Easton Centinel."

Early in 1820, Christian J. Hutter became sole publisher and continued the paper after 1820.

Easton Pub. Lib. has July 11, 1817-July 2, 1819; June 30-Dec. 29, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1818. May 15.

Eastoner-Deutsche Patriot, 1805-1814.

Weekly. Established Feb. 13, 1805, by Jacob Weygandt and Company (Jacob and Cornelius N. Weygandt), with the title of "Der Eastoner-Deutsche Patriot, und Landmanns Wochenblatt." It succeeded the "Neuer Unpartheyischer Eastoner Bothe," and continued its advertisements, although adopting a new volume numbering. Cornelius Weygandt died May 3, 1806, and with the issue of May 14, 1806, Jacob Weygandt, Jun., became sole publisher. About 1812 Jacob Weygandt was admitted to partnership, and the paper was published by Jacob Weygandt and Son. The last issue located is that of Mar. 9, 1814, no. 465, in which issue it was announced that the establishment would be discontinued on April 1 next.

Harvard has Feb. 13, 1805-Apr. 1, 1807, fair, Oct. 20, 1813; Mar. 9, 1814. Easton Pub. Lib. has Oct. 9, Nov. 16, 1808; Apr. 24, 1811; Apr. 14, June 9, 1813.

[Easton] Mountaineer, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 7, 1820, by Weiss & Patterson (John D. Weiss and James A. Patterson), with the title of "The Mountaineer," and so continued until after 1820.

Easton Pub. Lib. has Jan. 7-Dec. 29, 1820.

[Easton] Neuer Unpartheyischer Eastoner Bothe, 1793-1805.

Weekly. Established in August 1793, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 24, 1794, no. 56, published by Jacob Weygandt and Son (Jacob and Cornelius N. Weygandt), with the title of "Neuer Unpartheyischer Eastoner Bothe, und Northampton Kundschafter." It was so continued to the date of the

last issue, that of Feb. 6, 1805, no. 588, when it was succeeded by "Der Eastoner Deutsche Patriot."

Harvard has Sept. 14, 1803 - Feb. 6, 1805, fair. Easton Pub. Lib. has July 20, 1803. A. A. S. has:

1794. Sept. 24^{m}.
Oct. 1^{m}, 8, 15, 22, 29.
Nov. 5, 12, 26.
Dec. 3, 10, 17, 24.
1795. Jan. 14.
Feb. 18, 25.
Mar. 4, 11, 18.
1804. June 20.

[Easton] Northampton Correspondent, 1806 - 1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 25, 1806, by Christian Jacob Hütter, with the title of "Der Northampton Correspondent." In the summer of 1815 the paper was published by Carl L. Hütter for Christian Jacob Hütter. Early in 1817 the firm name was changed to Christian Jacob Hütter and Son, and early in 1820 Christian Jacob Hütter became sole publisher. Continued after 1820.

Harvard has Jan. 25, 1806 - July 18, 1807, fair. Wis. Hist. Soc. has June 9, 1810. Easton Pub. Lib. has Aug. 12, Sept. 16, 30, Oct. 21, Dec. 30, 1814; Jan. 6, Apr. 21, Sept. 15, 29 - Oct. 13, 27, 1815; Aug. 30, Sept. 27, Oct. 4, Nov. 1, Dec. 13, 20, 1816; Aug. 8, Sept. 26 - Oct. 10, 1817; Aug. 7, Oct. 9, 16, 30, 1818; June 25, Sept. 10, 1819; Mar. 31, Apr. 14, June 9, Aug. 11 - Dec. 29, 1820. A. A. S has:

1810. May 12.

[Easton] Northampton Farmer, 1805 - 1815.

Weekly. Established Dec. 21, 1805, by Thomas J. Rogers, with the title of "Northampton Farmer and Easton Weekly Advertiser." In 1809 or 1810, the title was shortened to "Northampton Farmer." The last issue located is that of Apr. 17, 1813, vol. 8, no. 15, but the

paper was succeeded by the "Spirit of Pennsylvania" in 1815.

Easton Pub. Lib. has Dec. 21, 1805-Dec. 31, 1808. Harvard has May 31, 1806. Lib. Congress has Oct. 10, 1807; Apr. 16, 1808; Sept. 28, 1811. Berks Co. Hist. Soc., Reading, has Apr. 17, 1813. A. A. S. has:

1810. July 7.

[Easton] Pennsylvania Herald, 1808-1810.

Weekly. Established Aug. 10, 1808, by Christian J. Hutter, with the title of "Pennsylvania Herald, and Easton Intelligencer." It was discontinued with the issue of Aug. 1, 1810, vol. 2, no. 52, to be succeeded by "The People's Instructor."

Easton Pub. Lib. has Aug. 10, 1808-Aug. 1, 1810. Harvard has Aug. 10-Dec. 21, 1808, fair. A. A. S. has:

1810. June 13.
July 4, 25.
Aug. 1.

[Easton] People's Instructor, 1810-1813.

Weekly. Established Aug. 8, 1810, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 5, 1810, vol. 1, no. 5, published by Christian J. Hutter, with the title of "The People's Instructor. Der Volksunterrichter." The paper was of folio size, printed in alternate columns of German and English. In 1811, undoubtedly with the issue of Aug. 21, it was reduced in size to a quarto of eight pages, and the title was changed to "Der Volksunterrichter. The People's Instructor." It was so continued to the date of the final issue, May 26, 1813.

Easton Pub. Lib. has Aug. 28, 1811-May 26, 1813. A. A. S. has:

1810. Sept. 5, 19.
Oct. 3, 10, 24.

[Easton] Spirit of Pennsylvania, 1815-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 16, 1815 by George W. Deshler and Samuel Moore, with the title of "Spirit of

Pennyslvania." With the issue of Feb. 11, 1820, George W. Deshler became sole proprietor, and adopted a new series volume numbering. Continued until after 1820.

Easton Pub. Lib. has June 16, 1815-June 14, 1816; Feb. 11-Dec. 29, 1820.

[Easton] Volksunterrichter, see **People's Instructor.**

[Edentown] Eden Star, 1814-1816.

Weekly. Established Mar. 28, 1814, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of May 2, 1814, vol. 1, no. 6, published by Nathan Blackman, Jun., with the title of "The Eden Star." The last issue located is that of Sept. 4, 1815, vol. 2, no. 76, but apparently in June 1816, the paper was removed to Russelville, about one mile distant, where publication was continued, under the title of "The American Star."

Harvard has June 20, Sept. 26, 1814. A. A. S. has:

1814. May 2, 9, 16, 30.
June 20, 27.
July 4, 18, 25.
Aug. 22.
Sept. 5.
Oct. 10, 17^{m}, 24, 31^{m}.
Nov. 28.
1815. Sept. 4.

Erie Gazette, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 15, 1820, by Joseph M. Sterrett, with the title of "Erie Gazette," and so continued until after 1820.

☞ Erie Pub. Lib. has Jan. 22-Dec. 30, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1820. Apr. 15.

[Erie] Genius of the Lakes, 1816-1819.

Weekly. Established in September 1816, judging from the date of the only issue located, that of Mar. 27, 1819, vol. 3, no. 132, published by R[obert] I. Curtis, with the

title of "Genius of the Lakes." This was the last issue, and soon afterwards the editor removed to Mayville, N. Y.

A. A. S. has:

1819. Mar. 27.

[Erie] Mirror, 1808.

Weekly. Established May 26, 1808, by George Wyeth, with the title of "The Mirror." The last issue with the name of Erie in the imprint was that of Nov. 19, 1808, vol. 1, no. 26, and with the succeeding issue the paper was stated to be published at "Presqu'Isle, Erie County." See under Presque Isle.

Lib. Congress has May 26-Nov. 19, 1808.

[Erie] Northern Centinel, 1813-1815.

Weekly. Established early in August 1813, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Apr. 1, 1814, vol. 1, no. 35, published by Robert I. Curtis & Co., with the title of "The Northern Centinel." Curtis proposed to remove his paper to Detroit issuing what he thought was his last paper on Apr. 29, 1814 (see Lancaster "Intelligencer" of May 21, 1814, also Zanesville "Muskingum Messenger" of Feb. 28, 1814, where the proposed name for the paper at Detroit was alluded to as "The Republic"), but finding that the removal could not be brought about, he resumed publication at Erie on June 10, 1814. The last issue located is that of June 28, 1815, vol. 2, no. 94.

Harvard has June 10, 17, Sept. 23-Oct. 7, 21-Nov. 11, 25-Dec. 9, 1814. A. A. S. has:

1814. Apr. 1.
June 10.
1815. June 28[m].

Erie Patriot, 1818-1819.

Weekly. Established Oct. 3, 1818, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 20, 1819, vol. 1, no. 21, published by Z[iba] Willes with the title

of "Erie Patriot." The paper was continued for about a year, and Willes then removed to Cleveland where he established the "Cleaveland Herald," Oct. 19, 1819.

A. A. S. has:

1819. Feb. 20.

[Erie] Phoenix, see Erie Reflector.

Erie Reflector, 1819 - 1820.

Weekly. Established Sept. 29, 1819, by John Morris, at Erie, but printed in the office of the "Chautauque Eagle" at Mayville, N. Y. (see "Chautauque Eagle" of Oct. 5, 1819), where it is referred to as "The Phoenix and Erie Reflector." The earliest issue located, that of Mar. 20, 1820, is an unnumbered half sheet, entitled "The Reflector." The first numbered issue located, that of Apr. 3, 1820, vol. 1, no. 25, was edited and printed by R[obert] I. Curtis, and was entitled "Erie Reflector." Statements in this issue show that the publisher was John Morris of Erie, but that the printing was performed at Curtis's printing-office at Mayville, N. Y. In the "Erie Gazette" of Apr. 15, 1820, is the following statement: "The Phoenix and Erie Reflector, published in this place by John Morris, Esq., and printed and edited by R. I. Curtis, in Mayville, N. Y. has been discontinued."

Prendergast Lib., Jamestown, N. Y., has Mar. 20, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1820. Apr. 3.

[Frankford] Spirit of '76, 1810 - 1812.

Weekly. Established in June 1810, judging from the date of the only copy located, that of Feb. 27, 1812, vol. 2, no. 90, published by J[ohn] F. Gilbert, with the title of "Spirit of '76."

A. A. S. has:

1812. Feb. 27.

[Frankford] Weekly Messenger, 1810.

Weekly. Published early in 1810 by William Coale, with the title of "Weekly Messenger" (I. Thomas, "History of Printing," ed. 1874, vol. 2, p. 301). No copy located.

[Germantown] Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschict-Schreiber, 1739-1746.

Quarterly and monthly. Established Aug. 20, 1739, by Christoph Saur, with the title of "Der Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschict-Schreiber." It was at first intended to issue the paper every three months, but this must have been changed to a monthly issue early in 1741, judging from the numbering of the next issue located succeeding the initial issue, that of Feb. 16, 1742, no. 19. The issues after 1742 were monthly, being dated the 16th of the month. With the issue of Oct. 16, 1745, the title was changed to "Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Berichte." With June 16, 1746, the title was changed to "Pensylvanische Berichte" which see.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Aug. 20, 1739; Feb. 16, 1742; Apr. 16, 1743-May 16, 1746. A. A. S. has:

1743. July 16.
Dec. 16.
1744. Jan. 16 to Dec. 16.
Postscript: Jan. 10.
Missing: Apr. 16.
1745. Jan. 16 to Dec. 16.
Missing: Oct. 16, Dec. 16.

[Germantown] Pensylvanische-Berichte, 1746-1762.

Monthly, semi-monthly and bi-weekly. A continuation of the "Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Berichte," without change of numbering. The earliest issue with the title of "Pensylvanische Berichte" was that of June 16, 1746, no. 71, published by Christoph Saur. The paper was of quarto size, issued monthly on the 16th of each month. Beginning with Apr. 1, 1748, issues were

published on the 1st as well as the 16th of the month, but these issues were not included in the numbering (except inadvertently on Apr. 1 and June 1, 1748) and were regarded as postscripts or complimentary copies in addition to the twelve regular monthly issues. With the issue of Jan. 16, 1754, the size of the paper was enlarged from quarto to folio. With the issue of Nov. 13, 1756, the publishing of two issues a month was given up, and a regular bi-weekly publication established. Christoph Saur, Sr., died Sept. 15, 1758, and his son, Christoph Saur, became the publisher. The last issue located with the title of "Pensylvanische Berichte" is that of Apr. 9, 1762, no. 264. The title was then changed to "Die Germantowner Zeitung," without change of numbering, although no issues with this new title have been located between 1762 and 1766. See under "Die Germantowner Zeitung."

Hist. Soc. Penn. has June 16, 1746-Dec. 16, 1752; Aug. 1, 16, Oct. 16, 1753; Jan. 16, 1754-Apr. 9, 1762. Amer. Philos. Soc. has July 16, 1747-Nov. 16, 1753. Schwenkfelder Hist. Lib., Pennsburg, has Mar. 1, 1749-Nov. 1, 1751, Feb. 1, 1754; Oct. 16, 1755; Aug. 6, 1757; Feb. 2, Apr. 27, June 22, Aug. 31, Nov. 9, 1759; Mar. 28, June 6, 1760; June 5, July 31, Oct. 9, 1761. A. A. S. has

1747.	Jan. 16.
1749.	June 16.
1755.	Apr. 16.
	May 16.
	June 1.
	Sept. 1.
	Oct. 1.
	Nov. 16.
	Dec. 1, 16.
1756.	Jan. 16.
	Feb. 16.
	Mar. 1.
	Apr. 1.
	May 1.
	June 1, 16.
	July 1.

Aug. 16, 21.
Oct. 2, 16.
Nov. 13, 27.
Dec. 11, 25.
1757. Jan. 8, 22.
Feb. 5, 19.
Apr. 2, 16, 30.
May 14, 29.
June 11, 25.
July 23.
Aug. 6, 20.
Sept. 3, 17.
Oct. 29.
Nov. 12, 26.
Dec. 10, 24.

[Germantown] Wahre und Wahrscheinliche Begebenheiten, 1766.

A paper with this title was issued in 1766, but the issues were without volume numbering, name of printer or place of publication. The press-work is evidently that of Christoph Saur, of Germantown, and the issue of Feb. 24, 1766 contains an advertisement addressed to Christoph Saur as publisher.

Schwenkfelder Hist. Lib., Pennsburg, has Feb. 24, 1766. Seidensticker "German Printing in America," p. 76, mentions an issue of Mar. 5, 1766.

Germantowner Zeitung, 1762-1777.

Bi-weekly and weekly. A continuation of the "Pensylvanische Berichte," issued by Christoph Saur, without change of numbering. The change of title may have occurred in 1762, but the earliest issue located with the title of "Die Germantowner Zeitung" is that of Aug. 7, 1766, no. 371, published by Christoph Saur. Issues up to Apr. 20, 1775 were bi-weekly, but the next issue located, that of Mar. 20, 1776, was a weekly, as were succeeding issues. The issue of Mar. 20, 1776 was published by Christoph Saur und Sohn, as was also the issue

of Sept. 11, 1776, no. 670. The issue of Feb. 26, 1777, no. 686, was published by Christoph Saur, Jun. [the third] und Peter Saur. In October 1777, after the Battle of Germantown and the British occupation of Philadelphia, the Saurs removed to Philadelphia, where they continued their paper, under the title of "Der Pennsylvanische Staats Courier." See under Philadelphia.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Aug. 7, 1766; Apr. 20, 1775; Mar. 20, Sept. 11, 1776; Mar. 12, 1777. Dr. George Hetrich, Birdsboro, Penn., has Feb. 26, 1777.

Germantauner Zeitung, 1785-1799.

Bi-weekly and weekly. Established Feb. 8, 1785, by Leibert and Billmeyer (Peter Leibert and Michael Billmeyer), with the title of "Die Germantauner Zeitung," as a bi-weekly. With the issue of Aug. 7, 1787, the partnership was dissolved and the paper published by Michael Billmeyer. With the issue of July 20, 1790, the size was reduced from folio to quarto, and the paper was issued weekly. It was apparently intended to start a new volume numbering in July 1790, for after the issue of Aug. 10, 1790, no. 146, the issue of Aug. 17, 1790 was numbered no. 7, and this new system of numbering was thenceforth used. The last issue located is that of July 16, 1793, no. 157. The paper may have been continued until 1799, as in the "Neue Unpartheyische Readinger Zeitung" of June 5, 1799, Michael Billmeyer, editor of "Die Germantauner Zeitung," has a notice that all back subscriptions to the paper must be paid immediately.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Feb. 22, 1785-Jan. 15, 1793. Lib. Congress has July 20, 1790-July 16, 1793. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 1, 1789; June 12, 17, Aug. 21, Sept. 25, Nov. 13, Dec. 11, 1792. A. A. S. has:

1792. Dec. 25.

[Gettysburg] Adams Centinel, 1800-1820+.

Weekly. Established Nov. 12, 1800, by Robert Harper, with the title of "The Adams Centinel." Robert Harper died Nov. 8, 1816, and in the issue of Nov. 13, his

widow announced that she would henceforth conduct the paper. No name appeared in the imprint, however, until May 12, 1819, when Robert G. Harper became the publisher and changed the title to "Adams Centinel." The paper was so continued until after 1820.

Gettysburg "Star and Sentinel" office has Nov. 19, 1800 - Dec. 27, 1820. N. J. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 15, Oct. 6, Nov. 17, Dec. 1, 22, 1819; Feb. 9, Apr. 26, May 3, 17, July 5, Dec. 13, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1801. Sept. 9, 30.

[Gettsyburg] Republican Compiler, 1818 - 1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 16, 1818, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Dec. 16, 1818, vol. 1, no. 14, published by Jacob Lefever, with the title of "The Republican Compiler." Continued by him until after 1820.

N. J. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 16, 1818; July 21, 28, Sept. 1, 29, Oct. 13, Nov. 3, Dec. 15, 22, 1819; Feb. 9, Mar. 8, 22, May 3, 1820.

[Gettysburg] Sprig of Liberty, 1803 - 1805.

Weekly. Established in February 1803, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 31, 1804, vol. 2, no. 31, published by William B. Underwood, with the title of "The Sprig of Liberty." The last issue located is that of Aug. 8, 1805, vol. 3, no. 29. In "Bartgis's Republican Gazette," of Fredericktown, Md., of Feb. 25, 1803, is an advertisement that "Subscriptions and advertisements are taken in at this Office, for the Gettysburg Gazette, printed in Pennsylvania."

Harvard has Aug. 31, 1804; Aug. 8, 1805.

Greensburgh & Indiana Register, 1808 - 1818.

Weekly. Established in January 1808, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Nov. 26, 1812, vol. 5, no. 45, published by William S. Graham, with the title of "Greensburgh & Indiana Register." G. D. Albert, in the "History of the County of Westmoreland,"

1882, p. 280, says that the title was "Westmoreland and Indiana Register" from 1808 to 1812, that Graham died in 1815 being succeeded by his widow, and that the paper was discontinued in September 1818.

A. A. S. has:

1812. Nov. 26.

[Greensburg] Farmers Register, 1799-1808.

Weekly. Established May 24, 1799, by Snowden & M'Corkle (John M. Snowden and William M'Corkle), with the title of "The Farmers Register." With the issue of May 28, 1803, the partnership was dissolved and the paper published by John M. Snowden. The last issue located is that of Sept. 20, 1805, vol. 4, no. 18. Apparently the paper was discontinued under this title in January 1808.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has May 24, 1799-May 21, 1803. Carnegie Lib., Pittsburgh, has June 21, 1799-Apr. 24, 1802. Harvard has May 28, 1803-May 3, 1805, fair. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 17, 1802. Lib. Congress has Sept. 6, 20, 1805. A. A. S. has:

1803. Aug. 13.
Sept. 10.

Greensburgh Gazette, 1811-1820+.

Weekly. Eastablished in 1811 by David Maclean, with the title of "The Greensburgh Gazette," and so continued until after 1820.

Lib. Congress has Sept. 17, 1819. Hamilton Lib., Carlisle, has Dec. 17, 1819.

[Greensburg] Westmoreland and Indiana Register, see **Greensburgh & Indiana Register.**

[Greensburg] Westmoreland Republican, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established in April 1819, by Frederick A. Wise, with the title of "Westmoreland Republican and Farmer's Chronicle," and so continued until after 1820 (G. D. Albert, "History of the County of Westmoreland," 1882, p. 281). No copy located.

Hanover Gazette, 1805-1820+.

Weekly. Established Apr. 4, 1805, by Daniel P. Lange and J. P. Starck, with the title of "Hanover Gazette." It was a German newspaper. The partnership was discontinued in 1816, and Lange became sole publisher and continued the paper until after 1820 (J. Gibson, "History of York County," 1886, p. 382). No copy located.

[Hanover] German newspaper, 1809-1810.

There was a German newspaper published at Hanover, the title of which is now unknown. It was established in August 1809 and discontinued in March 1810, at which time one of the editors, Mr. Melsheimer, removed to Fredericktown (Carter and Glossbrenner, "History of York County," 1834, p. 100). C. T. Melsheimer established "Der Freiheitsbothe" at Fredericktown, Md., Apr. 7, 1810.

[Hanover] Guardian, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established in August 1818, by Jacob H. Wiestling with the title of the "Guardian." In 1819 he sold the paper to Joseph Schmuck, who continued it until after 1820 (J. Gibson, "History of York County," 1886, p. 382). No copy located.

[Hanover] Pennsylvanische Wochenscrift, 1797-1805.

Weekly. Established in April 1797, by W. D. Lepper and E. Stettinius, with the title of "Die Pennsylvanische Wochenscrift." Not long afterwards, Lepper became sole proprietor, certainly by 1802, as books printed in that year bear the name of William Daniel Lepper alone in the imprint. Lepper continued the paper until February 1805 (Carter and Glossbrenner, "History of York County," 1834, p. 100; G. R. Prowell, "History of York County," 1907, vol. 1, p. 557). No copy located.

[Harrisburg] American Patriot, 1812-1813.

Published in 1812 and 1813, with Alexander Hamilton as editor. It existed for nearly two years (W. H. Egle, "History of Dauphin and Lebanon Counties," 1883, p. 351). No copy located.

[Harrisburg] Chronicle, 1813-1820+.

Weekly and semi-weekly. Established May 31, 1813, by William Gillmor, with the title of "The Chronicle or Harrisburgh Visitor." With the issue of Dec. 4, 1815, Hugh Hamilton was admitted to partnership under the firm name of Gillmor and Hamilton. With the issue of Aug. 24, 1818, Hugh M'Ilwaine replaced Gillmor, the firm name becoming Hamilton & M'Ilwaine, and the title was changed to "The Chronicle, and Harrisburg Advertiser." The paper, normally published weekly, was published semi-weekly during the sessions of the State legislature from Dec. 10, 1818 to Mar. 29, 1819, and from Dec. 9, 1819 to Mar. 27, 1820. With the issue of Feb. 3, 1820, the title was changed to "Harrisburg Chronicle." Continued after 1820.

Penn. State Lib. has May 31, 1813-Dec. 28, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has May 31, 1813-Nov. 27, 1815, Feb. 17, 1817-Aug. 17, 1818. Wis. Hist. Soc. has June 7, 1813. Lib. Congress has Apr. 22, 1816; Dec. 2-25, 1820. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has July 22-Dec. 28 1820. A. A. S. has:

1813. May 31.
June 14, 28.
July 12.
Sept. 27.
Oct. 4.

1814. May 23.
Nov. 7.

1815. Feb. 27.

1816. Feb. 12.
Aug. 5, 12.

Sept. 23, 30.
Oct. 7, 14, 28.
Nov. 4, 11, 25.
Dec. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.

1817. Jan. 6 to Dec .29.
Missing: Jan. 27, June 30, July 28, Aug. 4, 18, 25.

1818. Jan. 5 to Dec. 31.
Carrier's Address: [Jan. 1].
Mutilated: May 18.
Missing: Jan. 19, Feb. 23, Mar. 16, July 20, Dec. 21.

1819. Jan. 4 to Dec. 30.
Missing: Mar. 18, July 12, Aug. 9, Sept. 6, Dec. 9, 13, 16.

1820. Jan. 3 to Dec. 28.
Missing: Mar. 13, 20, July 22, Aug. 26, Sept. 9, Oct. 14, Dec. 14, 21.

[Harrisburg] Commonwealth, 1818-1820+.

Established in 1818 by John McFarland and William Greer, and continued after 1820 (W. H. Egle, "History of Dauphin and Lebanon Counties," 1883, p. 351). No copy located.

[Harrisburg] Dauphin Guardian, 1805-1811.

Weekly. Established June 1, 1805, by Albright & Elder (——— Albright and Jacob Elder), with the title of "Dauphin Guardian." In 1806, Jacob Elder became sole publisher. With the issue of June 5, 1810, the title was altered to "The Dauphin Guardian," but with the issue of July 31, 1810, it reverted to its earlier form. The paper was discontinued in November 1811, the last issue undoubtedly being that of Nov. 26, vol. 7, no. 26, and was succeeded by the "Pennsylvania Republican."

Penn. State Lib. has Aug. 3, Sept. 21, 1805; Apr. 22, May 13, Aug. 26, 1806; Sept. 1, Dec. 29, 1807; Jan. 5, 1808-Nov. 12, 1811. Harvard has June 1, 8, 29, Dec.

14, 1805. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 19, May 5, 1808; Jan. 10, Aug. 15, Oct. 10, Dec. 12, 1809; Feb. 20, May 29, 1810; Mar. 5, 12, 26, Oct. 22, 1811. A. A. S. has:

1805. June 1, 8.
July 6, 13, 20.

1809. Feb. 14.

1810. Aug. 7.

[Harrisburgh] Farmers Instructor, 1800-1802.

Weekly. Established Jan. 8, 1800, by Benjamin Mayer, with the title of "The Farmers Instructor, and Harrisburgh Courant." The paper was discontinued with the issue of May 5, 1802, vol. 3, no. 70.

Penn. State Lib. has Jan. 8, 1800-May 5, 1802. Mrs. B. F. Africa, Harrisburg, has Jan. 15, 1800. Lib. Congress has Apr. 22, 1801. A. A. S. has:

1801. June 17^{m}.
July 1^{m}.

Harrisburgh Journal, 1789.

Weekly. Established Aug. 26, 1789, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Sept. 9, 1789, vol. 1, no. 3, published by T. Roberts & Co., with the title of "The Harrisburgh Journal, and the Weekly Advertiser."

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Sept. 9, 1789.

Harrisburger Morgenröthe, 1799-1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 12, 1799, by B[enjamin] Mayer and C[onrad] Fahnestock, with the title of "Unpartheyische Harrisburg Morgenröthe Zeitung," the word "Morgenröthe" being in an emblem in the center of the title. With the issue of Aug. 6, 1799, the partnership was dissolved and the paper published by Benjamin Mayer. With the issue of Aug. 11, 1800, the title was shortened to "Die Harrisburger Morgenröthe Zeitung,"

changed with the issue of Aug. 18, 1800, to "Die Harrisburger Morgenröthe." With the issue of Apr. 13, 1811, Mayer sold out and the paper was published by Gleim and Wiestling (Christian Gleim and John S. Wiestling). With the issue of Jan. 5, 1813, the partnership was dissolved and John S. Wiestling became sole publisher. Continued after 1820.

Penn. State Lib. has Mar. 12, 1799-Oct. 19, 1813. Lib. Congress has Feb. 6-Nov. 20, 1802. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 6, 1812.

[Harrisburgh] Oracle of Dauphin, 1792-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 20, 1792, by Allen and Wyeth (John W. Allen and John Wyeth), with the title of "The Oracle of Dauphin, and Harrisburgh Advertiser." In November 1793, the firm was dissolved and John Wyeth became sole publisher. At some time between Oct. 10, 1807 and Jan. 23, 1808, the title was shortened to "The Oracle of Dauphin." The paper was so continued by John Wyeth until after 1820.

Penn. State Lib. has Nov. 3, 1792-Oct. 28, Nov. 11, 1793; Aug. 18-Sept. 8, Oct. 6, 1794; Feb. 8, Oct. 4, Nov. 29, 1797; Mar. 14, May 9, 23-June 20, July 18, Aug. 15-Nov. 7, 1798; Mar. 6-27, Apr. 10, 17, July 17, 31, Aug. 21-Sept. 11, 25-Oct. 7, Nov. 11, 1799; Feb. 10, June 9, July 28-Dec. 29, 1800; Jan. 5, 19, Feb. 2, 1801; Nov. 22, 1802-Mar. 2, 1805; Jan. 18-Feb. 15, 1806; Oct. 18, 1806-Oct. 10, 1807; Jan. 23, 1808-Feb. 9, 1811; Sept. 6, 1812-Dec. 30, 1820.

York Co. Hist. Soc. has 1798-1800 (not examined). N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 7, 1798-Oct. 12, 1805; July 11, 1807; Feb. 11, 1809. Harvard has Feb. 3, 1794; Mar. 9, June 15, 1795; Mar. 28, 1796-Aug. 29, 1798, fair; Feb. 23, 1801-Dec. 3, 1803, fair; Feb. 4, Apr. 28, Aug. 4, 1804; Mar. 30, 1805; Sept. 20, 1806. Phil. Lib. Co. has Oct. 21, 1793; Jan.2, 1813-Dec. 9, 1815. Lib. Congress has Aug. 24, 1795; Nov. 16, 1801-Sept. 13, 1806. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has May 6-Dec. 30, 1820. N. J.

Hist. Soc. has Dec. 4, 1813; Nov. 11, 18, 1815; June 1, 1816. A. A. S. has:

1792.	Oct. 20.
	Dec. 10.
1793.	Jan. 14.
	Mar. 18.
	Apr. 1.
	July 22.
	Aug. 5, 12.
	Sept. 16.
	Dec. 9^{m}, 23.
1794.	Jan. 13.
	Apr. 27.
	Aug. 11.
	Dec. 22.
1797.	May 3.
1798.	Feb. 7.
	Apr. 18.
1799.	June 19^{m}.
	Oct. 7.
1804.	Mar. 3, 10, 17.
1808.	Apr. 30.
1810.	June 30.
1820.	Sept. 30.

[Harrisburg] Pennsylvania Intelligencer, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Dec. 5, 1820, by Charles Mowry, with the title of "Pennsylvania Intelligencer." It succeeded the "Harrisburg Republican," but adopted a new volume numbering, as well as a new title. Continued until after 1820.

Penn. State Lib.; Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg; and Hist. Soc. Penn, have Dec. 5-26, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 26, 1820.

[Harrisburg] Pennsylvania Republican, 1811-1816.

Weekly. Established Dec. 3, 1811, by James Peacock, with the title of "Pennsylvania Republican." The last issue with this title was that of Nov. 26, 1816, vol. 5, no. 52, after which the title was changed to "Harrisburg Republican," which see.

Penn. State Lib. has Dec. 3, 1811-Nov. 26, 1816. Harvard has Feb. 4, 1812. Wash. Co. Hist. Soc., Washington, Pa., has Jan. 3, 1815. A. A. S. has:

1811. Dec. 3, 10, 17, 24.

1812. Sept. 15.
Oct. 13, 20.
Nov. 24.
Dec. 22, 29.

1813. Jan. 19.
Feb. 9.
Mar. 2, 9.
Apr. 20.
May 4, 18, 25.
June 1, 8.
July 27.
Aug. 3, 10, 17[m], 24, 31.
Sept. 7.
Oct. 5, 12,19.
Nov. 9, 16.
Dec. 7, 21,28.

1814. Jan. 4 to Dec. 27.
Missing: Jan. 4, 11, Feb. 8, Apr. 5, May, 3, 31, June 7, 21, July 12, 19, Aug. 2, 16, 30, Oct. 4, 25, Nov.8.

1815. Jan. 3 to Dec. 26.
Missing: Feb. 7, 21, Mar. 14, Apr. 11, 25, May 2, 23, June 20, July 4-25, Aug. 8, 15, 29, Oct. 10, 31, Nov. 7, 14, 28, Dec. 12, 19.

1816. Jan. 2 to Nov. 26.
Missing: May 28, June 25, Sept. 24, Oct. 8, 22.

Harrisburg Republican, 1816-1820.

Weekly. A continuation of the "Pennsylvania Republican," without change of volume numbering. The first issue with the new title of "Harrisburg Republican" was that of Dec. 3, 1816, vol. 6, no. 1, published by James Peacock. The paper was discontinued with the issue of Nov. 17, 1820, vol. 9, no. 52, when it was sold out to Charles Mowry, who established in its stead the "Pennsylvania Intelligencer."

Penn. State Lib. has Dec. 3-17, 1816; Jan. 7, 1817-Nov. 17, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 17, 1816-Aug. 7, 1818. Lib. Congress has Oct. 7, 1817-Nov. 17, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1816. Dec. 3, 10[m], 17, 24.

1817. Jan. 14, 21,28.
Feb. 4, 11, 18, 25.
Mar. 4, 11, 25.

1818. Apr. 3.

[Harrisburgh] Times, 1807-1808, 1810-1811.

Weekly. Established Sept. 21, 1807, by David Wright, with the title of "The Times." It was discontinued at Harrisburg with the issue of Mar. 28, 1808, vol. 1, no. 25, and removed to Lancaster, where it was resumed by Hugh Hamilton, under the same title, with the issue of Apr. 8, 1808 (see under Lancaster). In May 1810, soon after the announcement of the removal of the seat of government to Harrisburg, the paper was moved back to Harrisburg, where it was resumed under the title of "The Times" by H[ugh]Hamilton and J[eremiah] B. Risley. The issue of May 19, 1810, was numbered vol. 3, no. 25. In July 1810, Risley removed to Delaware and H. Hamilton became sole publisher. The last issue located is that of Aug. 31, 1811, vol. 4, no. 39.

Penn. State Lib. has Sept. 21, 1807-Mar. 28, 1808. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has Sept. 21, 1807-

Mar. 28, 1808. Harvard has Sept. 21-Oct. 26, 1807. A. A. S. has:

1810. May 19.
June 2, 16.
July 28.
1811. Mar. 9.
July 6.
Aug. 31.

[Harrisburgh] Unpartheyische Harrisburg Morgenröthe, see Harrisburger Morgenröthe.

[Huntingdon] American Eagle, 1809-1811.

Weekly. Established in August 1809, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Aug. 23, 1810, vol. 2, no. 3, published by G[ ] P.W.Butler, with the title of "The American Eagle." This issue contains an advertisement, dated Aug. 2, 1810, of the dissolution of the firm of G. P. W. Butler and John G. Butler, the former publishers.

A. A. S. has:
1810. Aug. 23.

Huntingdon Courier, 1797-1798.

Weekly. Established July 4, 1797, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Aug. 8, 1797, vol. 1, no. 6, published by Michael Duffey, with the title of "The Huntingdon Courier and Weekly Advertiser. It was discontinued in February 1798 (J. S. Africa, "History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties," 1883, p. 58).

Mrs. B. F. Africa, Harrisburg, has Aug. 8, 1797.

Huntingdon Gazette, 1801-1820+.

Weekly. Established Feb. 12, 1801, by John M'Cahan with the title of "The Huntingdon Gazette and Weekly Advertiser" (J. S. Africa, "History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties," 1883, p. 59). About 1805, the title was

shortened to "The Huntingdon Gazette." M'Cahan continued the paper until after 1820.

Mrs. B. F. Africa, Harrisburg, has Apr. 21, 1802; Apr. 18, 25, 1803; Feb. 5, Mar. 5, 1807; Aug. 4, 1809; Jan. 11, 18, 1810; Feb. 7, 14, 28, Apr. 4, May 23, July 4-Aug. 8, Sept. 12, 1811; Jan. 9, 1812-Dec. 29, 1814, fair; Jan. 12, 1815; Jan. 9, 1817; Dec. 24, 1818; Jan. 28, July 15, 1819. Juniata College, Huntingdon, has Jan. 21, 1819-Dec. 28, 1820.

[Huntingdon] Guardian of Liberty, 1799-1800.

Weekly. Established in November 1799, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Aug. 14, 1800, no. 38, published by John R. Parrington, with the title of "The Guardian of Liberty and Huntingdon Chronicle."

Mrs. B. F. Africa, Harrisburg, has Aug. 14, 1800.

Huntingdon Intelligencer, 1813-1814.

Weekly. Established in September, 1813, by James Barbour, with the title of "Huntingdon Intelligencer." In October 1814, the name was changed to "Huntingdon Republican," without change of volume numbering (J. S. Africa, "History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties," 1883, p. 60). No copy located.

Huntingdon Republican, 1814-1819.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "Huntingdon Intelligencer." The change of title occurred in October 1814, but the earliest issue located is that of July 18, 1816, vol. 3, no. 43, published by James Barbour, with the title of "Huntingdon Republican." The last issue was in August 1819 (J. S. Africa, "History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties," 1883, p. 60).

A. A. S. has:

1816. July 18.

[Huntingdon] Republican Advocate, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 10, 1820, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Dec. 21, 1820, vol. 1, no. 20, published by Underwood and Mullay (——— Underwood and John Mullay), with the title of "Republican Advocate."

Juniata College, Huntingdon, has Dec. 21, 1820.

[Indiana] American, 1814-1820+.

Weekly. Established by James McCahan in 1814, with the title of the "American." The office was destroyed by fire in less than two years, but the paper was reestablished shortly afterwards, and was continued until after 1820("Indiana County," 1913, vol. 1, p. 428). No copy located.

[Lancaster] Americanische Staatsbothe, 1800-1820+.

Weekly. A continuation of "Der Deutsche Porcupein," without change of numbering. The first issue with the new title of "Der Americanische Staatsbothe, und Lancaster Anzeigs-Nachrichten" was that of Jan. 1, 1800, no. 105, published by Johann Albrecht and Co. (Albrecht and Jacob Lahn). Lahn died Jan. 23, 1801, and with the issue of Feb. 4, 1801, the paper was published by Johann Albrecht. Albrecht died Aug. 15, 1806, and with the issue of Aug. 20, 1806, the paper was published by Georg and Peter Albrecht. With the issue of Jan. 18, 1809, Anton Albrecht became the publisher. In 1811, the title was altered to "Americanischer Staatsbothe, und Lancaster Wochenschrift." The issue of Jan. 21, 1818, by mistake was numbered no. 492, instead of no. 942, and the error was not corrected until January 1819, when the proper numbering was resumed. At some time between Sept. 1, 1819 and Oct. 18, 1820, William Albrecht became the publisher and the title was shortened to "Americanischer Staatsbothe." It was so continued until after 1820.

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 29, 1800-Dec. 26, 1804; Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1806; Jan. 6, Sept. 15, 1813; Sept.

3, 1817; Oct. 18, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has June 11, Aug. 13, Nov. 12, Dec. 3, 1800; May 10, Nov. 18, 1801; Apr. 14, June 16, 1802; Apr. 6, June 1, Nov. 16, Dec. 7, 1803; Mar. 21, Apr. 25, Nov. 21, 1804; May 29, 1805; June 9, Aug. 18, 1813; Aug. 10, Nov. 30, 1814; Feb. 1, May 3, July 19, Sept. 20, Dec. 20, 1815; Jan. 31, May 29, 1816; Apr. 30, June 25, Dec. 3, 31, 1817; Jan. 7, 1818; Mar. 18, July 22, Aug. 12, 1818; Mar. 17, May 19, Sept. 1, 1819. Lib. Congress has Jan. 30, 1805-Jan. 18, 1809. Hist. Soc. Penn. has Jan. 1, 1806-Dec. 26, 1810. A. A. S. has:

1800. Apr. 30.

1802. Feb. 17.
Mar. 24.
Sept. 29.
Nov. 17.

1803. Jan. 19, 26.
Feb. 16, 23.
Apr. 20, 27.
May 4th.
July 6, 27.
Sept. 28.
Oct. 19.

1804. Jan. 4, 11.
Aug. 22.
Oct. 24.
Dec. 16.

1805. Jan. 16.
Feb. 20.
July 3.
Sept. 18.

1806. Mar. 26.
Apr. 16.
May 28.
July 23.
Aug. 20.
Dec. 24, 31.

1807. Feb. 11.
Mar. 18.
Apr. 15.
June 17, 24^{m}.
July 1, 8.
Aug. 19.
Sept. 9.
Oct. 7.
Nov. 25.
Dec. 2.

1810. Feb. 28.
Mar. 7, 14, 21, 28.
Apr. 4, 11, 25.
May 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.
June 6, 13, 20, 27.
July 4, 11, 18, 25.
Aug. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.
Sept. 5, 12, 26.
Oct. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
Nov. 7.
Extra: May 2.

1812. Jan. 29.
Feb. 5^{m}, 19.
July 8, 15, 29.
Nov. 18.
Dec. 2, 16.

1814. Jan. 19.
Aug. 31.
Nov. 16.
Dec. 28.

1815. Apr. 12, 26.
May 24^{m}.
June 14.
Oct. 25.

1816. Feb. 28.
Apr. 24.
July 3.
Aug. 7.

Nov. 13.
Dec. 18.

1817. Feb. 5m.
May 22, 29m.
June 11m.
Dec. 10.

1818. Jan. 21.
Mar. 25.
Apr. 1.
June 17.
July 15m.

1819. Apr. 28.
June 16.
July 7.

[Lancaster] Constitutional Democrat, 1805-1807.

Weekly. Established July 2, 1805, by John R. Mathews, with the title of "The Constitutional Democrat." The last issue located is that of Dec. 1, 1807, vol. 3, no. 23. Mathews advertised his press and type for sale in September 1810 (see "Lancaster Journal," Oct. 27, 1810), but did not mention his newspaper.

Penn. State Lib. has July 9, 1805-July 14, 1807. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has June 10, 17, July 1, 1806. A. A. S. has:

1805. July 23.

1806. July 15.
Aug. 5.

1807. Nov. 10.
Dec. 1.

Lancaster Correspondent, 1799-1803.

Weekly. Established May 25, 1799, by Christian Jacob Hütter, with the title of "Der Lancaster Correspondent," replacing the Lancaster Wochenblatt. It was discontinued with the issue of Sept. 6, 1803, no. 225.

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has May 25, 1799-Sept. 6, 1803. Hist. Soc. Penn. has May 25, 1799-May 16, 1801.

Berks Co. Hist. Soc., Reading, has Feb. 22, 1800-Aug. 14, 1802.

[Lancaster] Deutsche Porcupein, 1798-1799.

Weekly. Established Jan. 3, 1798, by Johann Albrecht and Co., with the title of "Der Deutsche Porcupein und Lancaster Anzeigs-Nachrichten," succeeding Albrecht's other paper, the "Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung." The last issue was that of Dec. 25, 1799, no. 104, when the title was changed to "Der Americanische Staatsbothe."

Lib. Congress has Jan. 13, 1798-Dec. 25, 1799. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 26, 1798. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has June 19, Dec. 25, 1799.

[Lancaster] Free Press, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 10, 1819, by S[amuel] C. Stambaugh, with the title of "The Free Press." With the issue of Nov. 16, 1820, George Price acquired the paper and established a new volume numbering. Continued until after 1820.

Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has May 10, 1819-Nov. 2, 1820. Hist. Soc. Penn. has Aug. 12, Sept. 30, 1819; Mar. 9, 23, Apr. 27, June 29-July 13, 27, Aug. 3, 24, Sept. 7-Dec. 28, 1820. New Castle, Penn., Pub. Lib. has Nov. 16, 30-Dec. 14, 28, 1820.

Lancaster Gazette, 1752-1753, see **Lancastersche Zeitung.**

[Lancaster] Hive, 1803-1805.

Weekly. Established June 22, 1803, by Charles M'Dowell, with the title of "The Hive." It was of quarto size, paged, and was more of a magazine than a newspaper, but it contained marriage and death notices, and occasional local news. With the issue of Nov. 21, 1804, William Greear was admitted to partnership, the firm name becoming M'Dowell & Greear. The last issue located is that of June 12, 1805, vol. 2, no. 52. "The

Hive" was revived by William Greer, May 19, 1810, but strictly as a magazine, and hence not included in this Bibliography.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has June 22, 1803-May 29, 1805. Penn. State Lib. and Wis. Hist. Soc. have June 22, 1803-June 13, 1804. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 2, 1803. A. A. S. has:

1804. May 16, 30.
July 4.

[Lancaster] Intelligencer, 1799-1820+.

Weekly. Established July 31, 1799, by William & Robert Dickson, with the title of "The Intelligencer, & Weekly Advertiser." Robert Dickson died Sept. 12, 1802, and with the issue of Sept. 22, 1802, William Dickson became sole publisher. With the issue of July 21, 1810, the initial "The" was omitted from the title. The paper was so continued until after 1820.

Lancaster Intelligencer office has July 31, 1799-Dec. 30, 1820. Hist. Soc. Penn. has July 31, 1799-July 24, 1804; July 30, 1805-July 19, 1808; Jan. 15, 1814-Dec. 30, 1820, fair. Penn. State Lib. has July 31, 1799-July 26, 1803; Oct. 10-Dec. 26, 1812; June 20, 1818-Dec. 30, 1820. British Museum has Apr. 2, 1801-Aug. 25, 1802. Harvard has Dec. 14, 1802-Nov. 17, 1807, fair; June 28, 1808. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has June 4, 1800; Apr. 17, 1804; Jan. 10, 1809; June 29, Aug. 3, 1811. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 9, 1800; Aug. 15, 1809. Lib. Congress has Mar. 18, 1801; May 24, 1804; Apr. 9, Sept. 10, 24, 1805; Dec. 8, 1807; Jan. 20, 1810; Oct. 1, Dec. 17, 1814; Aug. 19, 1815. Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc., Norristown, has Mar. 15, 1803. Mass. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 28, 1809. N. J. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 4, 1812; Sept. 6, Dec. 6, 1817; July 18, 25, Sept. 19-Oct. 10, 31, Nov. 28, Dec. 5, 1818; Jan. 23, Feb. 6, 13, Mar. 6. Apr. 3, 10, May 1, 29, June 12, Aug. 28, Sept. 25-Oct. 16, Nov. 6, 20, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1800. July 9.

1803. Oct. 11.
Nov. 1, 8, 29.
Dec. 5, 20, 27.
Supplement: Nov. 1, 8.

1804. Jan. 10, 24, 31.
Feb. 7, 14, 21, 28.
Mar. 13, 27.
Apr. 3, 17, 24.
May 1, 8, 22.
June 5, 19, 26.
July 17.
Aug. 14.
Sept. 18.
Oct. 16, 30
Nov. 13.
Dec. 4, 18.
Supplement: May 24.

1805. Jan. 15, 22, 29.
Feb. 5, 19.
Mar. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Apr. 9, 16, 30.
May 14.
July 9, 30.
Aug. 6, 13, 20.
Oct. 1, 15, 22.
Nov. 26.
Dec. 3, 31.
Supplement: Mar. 26.

1806. Jan. 14.
Apr. 8, 22, 29.
May 6, 20, 27.
June 3, 17.
July 8, 22.
Aug. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Sept. 30.
Oct. 14, 21.
Nov. 11, 18, 25.
Dec. 2, 23, 30.

1807. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.
Supplement: Feb. 3.
Missing: Jan. 13, Feb. 17, May 12, June 9, July 14, 28, Sept. 15, 22, Oct. 13, Nov. 3.

1808. Feb. 23.
Mar. 29.
May 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
June 14, 21.
July 12.
Aug. 2, 30.
Sept. 6, 13, 20.
Supplement: Mar. 29.

1809. Jan. 3 to Dec. 30.
Mutilated: May 23.
Missing: Jan. 3, Mar. 21, Apr. 4, 11, July 4, 11, 25, Aug. 15, Sept. 5, Oct. 3, 10, 24, 31, Nov. 7, 21, 28, Dec. 2, 9.

1810. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.
Supplement: May 12, 19.
Mutilated: June 2, Sept. 29.
Missing: Jan. 27, Aug. 4, 18, Oct. 27, Nov. 3, Dec. 1.

1811. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.
Missing: Mar. 9, Apr. 27, May 4, June 8, 22, July 27, Aug. 17, 24, 31, Sept. 21, Oct. 19, Nov. 23, 30, Dec. 21.

1812. Jan. 4 to Dec. 26.
Extra: June 27.
Mutilated: Feb. 29.
Missing: May 16, 23, June 13, July 11, 25, Aug. 8, 29, Sept. 19, 26, Oct. 10, 24, Nov. 7, 14, 28, Dec. 26.

1813. Jan. 2 to Dec. 25.
Missing: Jan. 2, 9, Mar. 6, 13, June 5, July 17, Aug. 21, Nov. 27.

1814. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.
Missing: Jan. 1, 8, Mar. 19, Apr. 9, 23, July 9, 16, Aug. 20, Oct. 1.

1815. Jan. 7 to Dec. 30.
Mutilated: July 1.
Missing: Jan. 28, Feb. 4, Mar. 4, May 6, 20, 27, June 24, July 22, Aug. 12, 26, Sept. 23, 30, Oct. 21, Nov. 11.

1816. Jan. 6 to Dec. 28.
Missing: Mar. 2, 16, May 4, June 1, 8, Aug. 24.

1817. Jan. 11, 18, 25.
Feb. 1, 8, 15, 22.
Mar. 1, 15, 22, 29.
Apr. 5, 12, 19.

Lancaster Journal, 1794-1820+.

Weekly, tri-weekly and semi-weekly. Established in June 1794, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of June 17, 1795, vol. 2, no. 1, published by Willcocks & Hamilton (Henry Willcocks and William Hamilton), with the title of "The Lancaster Journal." With the issue of July 1, 1796, the partnership was dissolved and William Hamilton became sole publisher. About January 1799, the title was shortened to "Lancaster Journal." With the issue of Aug. 23, 1815, the paper was changed from a weekly to a tri-weekly, and a new volume numbering was adopted. With the issue of Jan. 20, 1819, publication was changed to semi-weekly. With the issue of Jan. 7, 1820, the paper was sold to Huss & Brenner (John Huss and ——— Brenner), and was changed to a weekly. With the issue of July 7, 1820, John Reynolds became the publisher and continued the paper until after 1820.

Lancaster Intelligencer Office has June 17, 1795-June 2, 1798; June 14, 1800-May 12, 1815; Aug. 18, 1815-Dec. 29, 1820.

Harvard has Sept. 2, Nov. 27, 1795; Apr. 8, 1796-Apr. 14, 1797, fair; Aug. 3, 1799; Aug. 22, Sept. 19, 26, Oct. 10, Nov. 28, Dec. 12-26, 1801; Jan. 16, Apr. 3, Oct. 16, 1802; June 25, July 2, Nov. 12, Dec. 24, 1803; Mar. 7, 10, 1804; Dec. 27, 1805; Feb. 20, June 5, Sept. 25, 1807; Mar. 18, 1808.

Univ. of Pittsburgh has June 21, July 8, 22, 29, Sept. 16, Nov. 4, 18, 25, Dec. 2, 23, 1796; Jan. 15, Feb. 24, Mar. 10-Apr. 1, 28, May 5, 19, 26, 1797; Jan. 6, 20-Feb. 3, 17, 24, Apr. 28, May 26, June 2, Sept. 29, Oct. 27-Nov. 10, 24, 1798; Feb. 16, 23, Mar. 9, 23, June 1, 8, 29, Aug. 3, 17, 31, Sept. 14, 28, Oct. 9, 19-Nov. 6, 23, Dec. 4-25, 1799.

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has June 6, 1799-Nov. 12, 1803; Jan. 3, 1804-Dec. 27, 1805; Apr. 24, 1807-Dec. 24, 1819; Jan. 14, Feb. 4, Aug. 11, 1820.

Lib. Congress has June 6, 1799-June 6, 1801; Apr. 25, May 9, 1806; Mar. 18, 1816; Apr. 17, 1817; Apr. 16, 1819.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Jan. 3, 1801-Dec. 26, 1806, fair; June 26, 1807-May 12, 1810; Oct 13, 1810; Feb. 1, 1812-July 28, 1815; Oct. 13, 16, 1815; Oct. 9, 1816; May 5, 12, June 23, Aug. 13, 15, 1817; Jan. 21, Feb. 2, May 29, Aug. 5, Sept. 30, Oct. 19, 1818; Jan 1, 4, Feb. 5, 9, 26-Mar. 12, 30, Apr. 6, July 23, Sept. 14, Oct. 19, 1819; Jan. 28-Dec. 29, 1820, fair.

British Museum has Aug. 29, 1801-Aug. 28, 1802.

Penn. State Lib. has Jan. 15-Dec. 30, 1808; Jan. 14-Dec. 3, 1813; Aug. 28, 1815-Sept. 4, 1816.

Phil. Lib. Co. has July 15, 22, 1796. Wis. Hist. Soc. has July 18, 1817. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 22, 1819. A. K. Hostetter, Lancaster, has Oct. 2, 1816-Dec. 10, 1817. A. A. S. has:

1797. Mar. 17.

1798. Jan. 27.

1803. Mar. 31.

1804. Feb. 4.
Mar. 3.
Extra: Feb. 1, 29, Mar. 7, 21.

1805. Apr. 5, 12.

1806. Feb. 21.
Mar. 7.
Apr. 18.
Oct. 10, 31.
Dec. 5, 12.
Supplement: Feb. 21, Oct. 10.

1809. Mar. 10.
Apr. 7.

1810. Jan. 29.
July 28.
Sept. 1.
Oct. 20, 27.

1811. Feb. 8.
Apr. 5, 12.
May 17.

1812. May 22.
Sept. 25.

1813. Jan. 14.

1815. May 5.
Oct. 13[m].
Dec. 18, 22.

1816. Jan. 26.
Feb. 28.

1818. May 18.

[Lancaster] Landmanns Wochenblatt, 1798-1799.

Weekly. Established in February 1798, by William Hamilton and Conrad Wortmann, with the title of "Das Landmanns Wochenblatt" (announcement of publication advertised in "The Lancaster Journal" of Jan. 27, 1798). In "Der Deutsche Porcupein" of Mar. 6, 1799, it is noticed that "Das Landmanns Wochenblatt" was discontinued on Feb. 19, 1799, after a life of only one year, and was succeeded by the Lancaster Wochenblatt (information supplied by James O. Knauss). No copies located.

[Lancaster] Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung, 1787-1797.

Weekly. Established Aug. 8, 1787, by Stiemer, Albrecht and Lahn (Anton Stiemer, Johann Albrecht and Jacob Lahn), with the title of "Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung, und Anzeigs-Nachrichten." A Prospectus was issued, dated June 5, 1787. Anton Stiemer died Apr. 12, 1788, and with the issue of Apr. 16, 1788, the paper was published by Albrecht and Lahn. Lahn retired and with the issue of Mar. 17, 1790, the firm name became Johann Albrecht and Co. The last issue located is that of Nov. 1, 1797, no. 536. It was succeeded, on Jan. 3, 1798, by "Der Deutsche Porcupein."

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 8, 1787-Aug. 7, 1793. Lib. Congress has Aug. 8, 1787-Jan. 12, 1791. Harvard has Oct. 3, 1787-Apr. 23, 1788, fair; Dec. 25, 1793. A. K. Hostetter, Lancaster, has Jan. 28, 1789-July 14, 1790, also prospectus of June 5, 1787. Penn. State Lib. has Sept. 1, 1790-July 25, 1792. N.Y. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 14, 1791; Apr. 18, 1792; Oct. 22, 1794; Apr. 20, 26, 1796; Nov. 1, 1797.

[Lancaster] Pennsylvania Farmer, 1812-1813.

Weekly. Established Aug. 26, 1812, by William Greer, with the title of "The Pennsylvania Farmer." With the issue of Sept. 16, 1812, Greer was succeeded by Jesse Kendall. The last issue located is that of Sept. 1, 1813, vol. 2, no. 2, and it was probably the last, as Kendall announced his inability to attend to the paper, because of sickness.

Carnegie Lib., Pittsburgh, has Aug. 26, 1812-Sept. 1, 1813. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has June 2, 1813. A.A.S. has:

1812. Sept. 2.

[Lancaster] Pennsylvania Gazette, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 12, 1817, by Hugh Maxwell, with the title of "The Pennsylvania Gazette," and so continued until after 1820.

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 12, 1817-Dec. 15, 1818. Lib. Congress has Jan. 11, 25, Feb. 8, 15, 29, Mar. 14-28, 1820.

[Lancaster] Pennsylvania Packet, 1777-1778.

Weekly. Removed from Philadelphia because of the occupation of that city by the British army. The last issue at Philadelphia was that of Sept. 9, 1777, no. 304, entitled "Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser." The first issue at Lancaster was that of Nov. 29, 1777, entitled "The Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser," published by John Dunlap. Neither this or the subsequent Lancaster issues bore volume numbering. The next issue was that of Dec. 3, 1777, and the paper was then published weekly to June 17, 1778. This was the last issue at Lancaster. The British evacuated Philadelphia, June 18, and on July 4, 1778, Dunlap brought out his paper again at Philadelphia. See under Philadelphia.

Lib. Congress has Nov. 29, 1777-June 17, 1778. Phil. Lib. Co. has Nov. 29, Dec. 17, 1777-June 17, 1778. Hist. Soc. Penn. has Dec. 17, 1777; Feb. 11, Apr. 1, May 6, 13, 27, June 17, 1778. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Jan. 21, 28, Apr. 15, May 6-27, June 10, 17, 1778. Penn. State Lib. has Feb. 18-May 20, June 3, 6, 10, 1778. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 18, May 6, 20, 23, 27, June 6, 1778. Mass. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 11, 1778. A. A. S. has:

1777. Dec. 3, 24.
1778. Jan. 21.
Feb. 11, 18, 25.
Mar. 9, 18.
Apr. 8, 22.
May 6, 13[m], 27.

[Lancaster] Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-Blat, 1778.

Weekly. Established Feb. 4, 1778, by Frantz [Francis] Bailey, with the title of "Das Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-

Blat. The paper was discontinued with the issue of June 24, 1778, no. 21.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Feb. 4-June 24, 1778. Lib. Congress has Apr. 29, June 3, 24, 1778.

Lancaster Repository, 1806.

Weekly. Established Aug. 9, 1806, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Oct. 4, 1806, vol. 1, no. 9, printed by William Greear, with the title of "The Lancaster Repository." It was of quarto size, paged, and was more of a magazine than a newspaper, but it contained marriage and death notices, and occasional local news. The last issue located is that of Oct. 18, 1806, vol. 1, no. 11.

A. A. S. has:

1806. Oct. 4, 11, 18.

[Lancaster] Times, 1808-1810.

Weekly. Removed from Harrisburg to Lancaster, where it was continued under its former title of "The Times," with the issue of Apr. 8, 1808, vol. 1, no. 26, published by Hugh Hamilton. It was published at Lancaster until March, 1810, when it was discontinued there and moved back to Harrisburg, because of the removal of the seat of government to Harrisburg. The last Lancaster issue located is that of Mar. 17, 1810, vol. 3, no. 22. See under Harrisburg.

Penn. State Lib. has Apr. 8, 1808-Mar. 17, 1810. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has Apr. 8-Nov. 25, 1808.

[Lancaster] Volksfreund, 1808-1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 9, 1808, by Hamilton and Ehrenfried (William Hamilton and Joseph Ehrenfried), with the title of "Der Volksfreund." With the issue of Jan. 17, 1809, Peter Albrecht was added to the firm, which became Hamilton, Albrecht, and Ehrenfried. With the issue of Jan. 29, 1810, the firm name became Hamilton and Ehrenfried, and with Apr. 7, 1810, William Hamilton and

Co. In 1817, the paper was purchased by Johann Bär and Samuel Kling. The latter retired late in 1817, and Bär [John Bear] continued the paper until after 1820.

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 9, 1808-July 19, 1813; Aug. 9, 1814- Aug. 29, 1815; June 23, Sept. 8, 1818.

A. A. S. has:

1810. June 15.
July 13.
1820. Oct. 17.

[Lancaster] Wahre Amerikaner, 1804-1820+.

Weekly. Established Nov. 10, 1804, by Henrich and Benjamin Grimler, with the title of "Der Wahre Amerikaner." It was a paper of quarto size. Henry Grimler died in 1814 (Seidensticker "German Printing in America", p. 191), and Benjamin Grimler became sole publisher, and continued the paper until after 1820.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Nov. 10, 1804-Dec. 28, 1811.

A. A. S. has:

1805. Nov. 23.
1810. June 16.

Lancaster Wochenblatt, 1799.

Weekly. Established Feb. 26, 1799, succeeding "Das Landmanns Wochenblatt." In May 1799, it was succeeded by "Der Lancaster Correspondent" (see "Der Deutsche Porcupein," Lancaster, July 21, 1799). No copies located.

Lancastersche Zeitung, 1752-1753.

Bi-weekly. Established Jan. 15, 1752, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Jan. 29, 1752, no. 2, published by H. Müller and S. Holland, with the title of "Die Lancastersche Zeitung." It was a bilingual paper, with alternate columns of German and English, and bore also the English title of "The Lancaster Gazette" and the names of H. Miller and S. Holland in English. The publishers were Henry Miller and Samuel

Holland (see I. Thomas, "History of Printing," ed. 1874, vol. 1, pp. 254, 286). At some time between February and June 1752, Miller retired and the paper was published by S. Holland. The last issue located is that of June 5, 1753, no. 31.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Jan. 29, June 16, July 28, Aug. 11, Oct. 3, 1752; June 5, 1753.

[Landisburg] Perry Forester, 1820+.

Weekly. Established July 12, 1820, by H[ ] W. Peterson and Alexander Magee, with the title of "Perry Forester," and so continued until after 1820 (S. Wright, "History of Perry County," 1873, p. 277). No copy located.

Lebanon Courier, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 15, 1819, judging from a copy seen in 1901, and dated Jan. 8, 1820, vol. 1, no. 15, published by George Hanke (Publications of Lebanon Co. Hist. Soc., vol. 1, p. 398). It was continued until after 1820. No copy located.

[Lebanon] Freymüthige Libanoner, 1807-1808.

Weekly. Established Jan. 1, 1807, by Jacob Schnee, with the title of "Der Freymüthige Libanoner." It was discontinued with the issue of Nov. 30, 1808, no. 100, when it was sold to Jacob Stöver, who established "Der Libanoner Morgenstern" in its place.

Penn. State Lib. has Jan. 1, 1807-Nov. 30, 1808.

[Lebanon] Libanoner Morgenstern, 1808-1820+.

Weekly. Established by Jacob Stöver and Co., Dec. 7, 1808, with the title of "Der Libanoner Morgenstern," succeeding "Der Freymüthige Libanoner" published by Jacob Schnee, but adopting a new volume numbering. With the issue of Dec. 28, 1808, however, Jacob Schnee was again given as the publisher and the earlier volume numbering resumed. The next issue located is that of Aug. 30, 1817, no. 558, published by Jacob Stöver, there-

fore when Schnee finally discontinued his connection with the paper cannot be told. It was continued by Stöver until after 1820.

Penn. State Lib. has Dec. 7-28, 1808; Aug. 30, 1817.

[Lebanon] Unpartheyische Berichte, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 1, 1816, by Joseph Hartman with the title of "Der Unpartheyische Berichte," and so continued until after 1820 (W. H. Egle, "History of Counties of Dauphin and Lebanon," 1883, pt. 2, p. 148). No copy located.

[Lewistown] Juniata Gazette, 1811-1820+.

Weekly. Established in 1811 by James Dickson and William P. Elliott. The earliest issue located is that of Apr. 14, 1815, vol. 4, no. 19, published by Dickson & Elliott, with the title of "Juniata Gazette." In 1815, Elliott retired and Dickson became sole publisher. In November 1818, William Mitchell became the publisher and slightly altered the title to "The Juniata Gazette." In December 1819, he adopted a new volume numbering, beginning with his ownership of the paper, and resumed the former title "Juniata Gazette." Continued until after 1820.

A. A. S. has:

1815. Apr. 14.
May 19[m].
1819. Apr. 2, 9, 20.
1820. Jan. 11[m].

[Lewistown] Mifflin Gazette, 1796.

No copy of this paper has been located, and it is known through a vote in the Mifflin County records, May 18, 1796, authorizing a payment to Joseph Charles for publishing certain advertisements in the Mifflin Gazette ("History of Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys," 1886, v. 1, p. 507).

[Lewistown] Monitor, 1798.

Weekly. Established Nov. 3, 1798, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Dec. 22, 1798, vol. 1, no. 8, published by John Doyle, with the title of "The Monitor of Mifflin & Huntingdon."

Mrs. B. F. Africa, Harrisburg, has Dec. 22, 1798.

[Lewistown] Western Star, 1800-1813.

Weekly. Established Nov. 27, 1800, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 12, 1801, vol. 1, no. 12, published by Edward Cole, with the title of "The Western Star." The "History of Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys," 1886, vol. 1, p. 508, states that it was established Nov. 26, 1800, by Edward Cole and John Doyle, that the latter retired Jan. 22, 1801, and that Cole continued the paper until about 1805, when his office was destroyed. The last issue located is that of Sept. 23, 1805, vol. 5, no. 29. The paper is included in the 1810 list of newspapers, under Lewistown, with Edward Cole given as publisher (I. Thomas, "History of Printing," ed. 1874, v. 2, p. 300). In the Harrisburg "Pennsylvania Republican" of Mar. 8, 1814, is the record of the death of Edward Cole, Dec. 13, 1813, aged 35, editor of the "late Western Star, of Lewistown."

Lib. Congress has Feb. 12, 1801; Jan. 16, 1804; Sept. 23, 1805. A. A. S. has:

1801. Feb. 19.
Oct. 30.

1802. Jan. 1 to Dec. 28.
Mutilated: June 11.
Missing: Jan. 29, May 21, Oct. 1, Dec. 21.

1803. Jan. 4, 18, 25^{m}.

1804. Aug. 20^{m}.

Marietta Pilot, 1813-1818.

Weekly. Established Nov. 23, 1813, by John Huss, with the title of "The Marietta Pilot." He continued as

publisher at least until Feb. 28, 1817. The next issue located, and also the last, is that of Jan. 3, 1818, vol. 4, no. 43, edited by William Peirce.

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 30, 1813-Feb. 28, 1817. Harvard has May 17, 24, June 14, 1814. A. A. S. has:

1818. Jan. 3.

[Marietta] Village Chronicle, 1820.

In the "York Recorder" of Aug. 16, 1820, is a reference to "The Village Chronicle,a paper published at Marietta." According to Ellis and Evans, "History of Lancaster County," 1883, p. 632, the publisher of this paper was William Peirce. No copy, however, has been located.

[Meadville] Crawford Democrat, 1809-1813.

In the Harrisburg "Pennsylvania Republican" of Mar. 8, 1814, is a notice of the death of Edward Cole, on Dec. 13, 1813, aged 35 years, editor of the "Crawford Democrat" of Meadville. No copy of a paper with this title has been located. J. G. White's "History of Mercer County," 1909, vol. 1, p. 217, states that Jacob Herrington from 1809 to 1811 published a paper at Meadville in opposition to the Crawford Weekly Messenger, and then removed to Mercer, where he established the "Western Press". It is possible that the paper referred to was the "Crawford Democrat."

[Meadville] Crawford Weekly Messenger, 1805-1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 2, 1805, by Atkinson & Brendle (Thomas Atkinson and William Brendle), with the title of "The Crawford Weekly Messenger." With the issue of July 10, 1805, Thomas Atkinson became sole publisher and continued the paper until after 1820.

John E. Reynolds, Meadville, has Jan. 2, 1805-Dec. 26, 1820. Lib. Congress has Apr. 14, 1808; Aug. 29, 1812; Apr. 16, June 27, 1818; Dec. 24, 1819. Allegheny

College, Meadville, has July 29-Sept. 2, 1815; Jan. 20, 1816-Dec. 26, 1820, fair. A. A. S. has:

1810. Aug. 20, 27.
1816. Oct. 26.
Nov. 3, 22.
Dec. 6.
1817. Jan. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
Feb. 14, 21.
Aug. 1.
1819. Dec. 17.
1820. Jan. 28.
June 23.
July 14.
Dec. 26.

[Meadville] Western Standard, 1820.

Established by Joseph D. Lowry in 1820, ("History of Crawford County," 1885, p. 429). No copy located.

[Meansville] Bradford Gazette, see under **Towanda.**

[Mercer] Western Press, 1811-1820+.

Weekly. Established Feb. 21, 1811, by Jacob Herrington, with the title of "The Western Press," and continued by him until after 1820 (see J. G. White, "History of Mercer County," 1909, v. 1, p. 217).

Hist. Soc. Western Penn., Pittsburgh, has Apr. 3, 1812. A. A. S. has:

1817. Mar. 25.
1819. Jan. 21.

[Mifflinburg] Advocate of the Union, 1815-1816.

"The Advocate of the Union" was published at Mifflinburg, in Union County, in 1816, by Hugh Maxwell (see J.B. Linn, "History of Centre and Clinton Counties," 1883, p. 56). It was discontinued Sept. 27, 1816, "after a lingering illness of one year and seven months" (J. B.

Linn, "Annals of Buffalo Valley," 1877, p. 433). No copy located. It is also stated by Mr. Linn that Andrew Kennedy commenced a paper in 1814, but sold out to Henry Shaup in 1815, although the title of the paper is unknown ("Annals of Buffalo Valley," p. 418).

[Mifflintown]

A newspaper, the name of which is now unknown, was established by Michael Duffey about 1794 and discontinued presumably in 1797 ("History of Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys," 1886, v. 1, p. 722).

[Mifflintown] Mifflin Advocate, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 6, 1820, by David McClure, according to a copy of no. 16 ("History of Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys," 1886, v. 1, p. 722). No copy now located.

[Mifflintown] Mifflin Eagle, 1817 - 1820+.

Weekly. Established by Andrew Gallagher in the spring of 1817, and continued by him until after 1820 ("History of Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys," 1886, v. 1, p. 722). No copy located.

[Milton] Miltonian, 1816 - 1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 21, 1816, by Henry Frick, with the title of "The Miltonian," and so continued until after 1820.

Miltonian office has Sept. 21, 1816 - Dec. 1820, scattering file. A. A. S. has:

1816. Sept. 21.

[Monmouth] Bradford Gazette, see under **Towanda.**

Montrose Gazette, 1818 - 1820+.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Susquehannah Centinel." The first issue with the title of "Montrose Gazette" was that of

May 16, 1818, vol. 3, no. 13, published by Justin Clark. It was so continued until after 1820.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has May 16-30, June 13, Aug. 18, 1818. Wyoming Hist. Soc. has July 25, Oct. 24, Nov. 28, Dec. 19, 1818; Mar. 6, June 12, July 10, 17, Oct. 2, Nov. 20, 27, Dec. 18, 1819; Feb. 19, Aug. 5-19, Sept. 2, 23, 30, 1820.

A. A. S. has:

1818. May 23.
Oct. 10[m].

1819. May 22[m].
July 10.

[Montrose] Messenger, 1820+.

Weekly. Established June 24, 1820, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 12, 1820, vol. 1, no. 8, published by Adam Waldie, with the title of "The Messenger." Continued until after 1820.

Wyoming Hist. Soc. has Aug. 12, Sept. 2, 9, 23, 30, 1820. Lafayette College has Sept. 9, 1820.

[Montrose] Susquehannah Centinel, 1816-1818.

Weekly. Established Feb. 20, 1816, by Justin Clark, with the title of "The Susquehannah Centinel." It was discontinued under this title May 9, 1818, vol. 3, no. 12, and was succeeded by the "Montrose Gazette," without change of volume numbering.

Lafayette College has Feb. 20, 1816. Wyoming Hist. Soc., Wilkesbarre, has Mar. 12, 1816; Mar. 29, 1817; Mar. 28, 1818. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 25-May 9, 1818. A. A. S. has:

1817. Apr. 19.

May 3, 24[m], 31[m].
July 12.
Aug. 16, 23.
Oct. 4, 18[m].
Nov. 1, 8, 22, 29.

1818. Jan. 24, 31^{m}.
Feb. 28.
Mar. 21.

[Nescopeck] Independent American, see under **Berwick.**

[New Berlin] Union, 1815-1817.

In J. B. Linn's "Annals of Buffalo Valley," 1877, pp. 418, 432, it is stated that Henry Shaup established a newspaper at New Berlin in 1815, referred to in 1816 as the "Union." No copy located.

[Newtown] Farmers' Gazette, 1805-1814.

Weekly. Established Oct. 10, 1805, by William B. Coale, with the title of "Farmers' Gazette and Bucks County Register," and continued for about ten years (W. W. H. Davis, "History of Bucks Co.," 1905, vol. 2, p. 314). No copy located.

[Newtown] Herald of Liberty, 1814-1815.

Weekly. Established in April 1814, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of June 21, 1815, vol. 2, no. 61, published by David A. Robinson, with the title of "Herald of Liberty."

Bucks Co. Hist. Soc., Doylestown, has June 21, 1815.

[Newtown] Star of Freedom, 1817-1818.

Weekly. Established May 21, 1817, with the title of "The Star of Freedom," printed for Asher Miner, by Simeon Siegfried. It was of quarto size, with eight pages to the issue. It was discontinued with the issue of Mar. 25, 1818, vol. 1, no. 45.

Bucks Co. Hist. Soc., Doylestown, has May 28, 1817-Mar. 25, 1818. Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc., Norristown, has Aug. 6-Nov. 5, 1817.

Norristown Gazette, 1799-1800.

Weekly. Established June 15, 1799 (with a preliminary free issue on June 1) by David Sower, with the title

[Northumberland] Nordwestliche Post, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established in 1818, succeeding "Der Northumberland Republikaner," published by John G. Youngman, and continued after 1820 (H. C. Bell, "History of Northumberland County," 1891, p. 279). No copy located.

[Northumberland] Republican Argus, 1802-1812.

Weekly. Established Dec. 24, 1802, by John Binns, with the title of "The Republican Argus, and County Advertiser." With the issue of Dec. 21, 1804, the title was altered to "The Republican Argus, and Weekly Advertiser," and with Dec. 18, 1805, to "The Republican Argus." Binns continued the paper until Mar. 11, 1807, vol. 5, no. 12, and then sold out to Matthew Huston. After an interval of three months, Matthew Huston resumed publication, June 3, 1807, starting a new volume numbering, but continuing the old title "The Republican Argus." Matthew Huston died Aug. 10, 1809, and was succeeded by his son, Andrew C. Huston. The last issue located is that of July 24, 1810, vol. 4, no. 5, but the paper was continued certainly as late as 1812.

Harvard has Dec. 24, 1802-Oct. 14, 1807, scattering file. Hist. Soc. Penn. has Jan. 7, 1803-Dec. 11, 1805. Lib. Congress has Apr. 6, 1804; July 19, 26, 1805. A. A. S. has:

1803.	Jan. 14^{m}.
	Feb. 4^{m}.
1804.	May 18.
	June 1, 8, 15, 22.
1807.	June 3, 10, 17.
	July 1, 8, 15, 22.
	Aug. 5, 12, 26.
	Oct. 5, 19.
1809.	Oct. 4.
1810.	Mar. 21.
	Apr. 25^{m}.

May 2nd, 23.
June 27.
July 4.

Northumberland Republikaner, 1812-1818.

Weekly. Established Aug. 12, 1812, by John G. Youngman, with the title of "Der Northumberland Republikaner." Files were extant in 1891 dating from August 1815 to January 1818. In 1818, the title was changed to "Nordwestliche Post" (H. C. Bell, "History of Northumberland County," 1891, p. 279). No copy located.

[Northumberland] Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette, 1792-1817.

Weekly. Established in June 1792, judging from a copy located in 1891 and dating Oct. 9, 1793, vol. 2, no. 71, published by Andrew Kennedy, with the title of "The Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette." Kennedy retired at some time between 1796 and 1799 and George Schusler was the publisher from 1799 to 1801. Andrew Kennedy resumed control in 1801 and changed the title to "Kennedy's Sunbury & Northumberland Gazette." In 1805, Andrew Kennedy took his nephew James into partnership and the firm name became Andrew & James Kennedy, but in 1806 or 1807, Andrew Kennedy again became sole publisher. In 1812, or possibly before, George Sweney was taken into partnership under the firm name of A. Kennedy & G. Sweney, and the title was changed to "The Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette, and Republican Advertiser." The last issue located is that of June 29, 1813, vol. 21, no. 49, and Sweney retired before November 1813. The paper is stated by local historians to have finally suspended in 1817 (see H. C. Bell, "History of Northumberland County," 1891, p. 273; J. B. Linn, "Annals of Buffalo Valley," 1877, pp. 416, 608.)

Harvard has Mar. 5, 1796. Lib. Congress has Dec. 28, 1799; Jan. 4, Dec. 20, 1800. Berks Co. Hist. Soc.,

Reading, has Oct. 20-Nov. 10, 1803; Dec. 10, 1805; Feb. 2, 1808. A. A. S. has:

1804. Mar. 15.
1813. June 29.

[Perryopolis] Comet, 1817.

Established by William Campbell (F. Ellis, "History of Fayette County," 1882, p. 717). In the Brownsville "American Telegraph" of July 9, 1817, it is referred to as "The Comet, printed at Perryopolis." No copy located.

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PRICE-LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

TRANSACTIONS

Volume 1	$3.181
Volume 2 (out of print)	12.00
Volume 3	2.50
Volume 4	2.50
Volume 5	2.50
Volume 6	2.50
Volume 7	2.50
Volume 8	2.50
Volume 9	2.50
Volume 10	2.50
Volume 11	2.50
Volume 12	2.50

NOTE.—With the intention of giving a larger circulation to its publications, the Society has decided to place only a nominal price on its volumes and has accordingly issued the above revised price-list. A full set of the Transactions will be sold for $35.00, or, excluding volume 2, which will possibly be reprinted, for $23.00.

PROCEEDINGS

1812–1840 (printed 1912, 582 pp.)	$2.50
1856–1880 (semi-annual)	each 0.50
n. s. 1880–1910 (semi-annual)	each 1.00

NOTE.—The Proceedings of 1840–1855 can be supplied only in part since most of them are out of print. The new series of Proceedings began in October, 1880, and from 1880 to 1910 consists of 24 volumes, with either two or three issues in a volume. The price is $1.00 per issue, and $2.50 per bound volume.

THE SOCIETY ALSO HAS FOR SALE THE FOLLOWING BOOKS:

Chandler Genealogy, by George Chandler, 1883	$10.00
Waldo Genealogy, by Waldo Lincoln, 2 vols. 1903	10.00
Tracts relating to the Currency of the Massachusetts Bay, ed. by A. McF. Davis, 1902, pp. 304	1.50
The Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate, by A. McF. Davis, 1903, pp. 290	1.50

Vol. 30 New Series Part 2

PROCEEDINGS

IN THE

American Antiquarian Society

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER

OCTOBER 20, 1920

VOL. 30 NEW SERIES PART 2

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WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS U. S. A.
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1921

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PROCEEDINGS

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 20, 1920, AT THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY, WORCESTER

THE annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society was held at Antiquarian Hall, on Wednesday, October 20, 1920, the meeting being called to order at 10.45 a. m. by President Lincoln.

There were present the following members:

Reuben Colton, Henry Herbert Edes, William Eaton Foster, Francis Henshaw Dewey, William Trowbridge Forbes, George Henry Haynes, Arthur Lord, Charles Lemuel Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, George Parker Winship, Samuel Utley, Benjamin Thomas Hill, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Clarence Saunders Brigham, Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, Worthington Chauncey Ford, Julius Herbert Tuttle, Charles Grenfill Washburn, Samuel Bayard Woodward, George Hubbard Blakeslee, Wilfred Harold Munro, Henry Winchester Cunningham, Frank Farnum Dresser, George Francis Dow, Homer Gage, Herbert Edwin Lombard, Howard Millar Chapin, Samuel Eliot Morison, Grenville Howland Norcross, Thomas Hovey Gage, Otis Grant Hammond, John Whittemore Farwell, Rev. Henry Bradford Washburn, Leonard Wheeler, Alexander George McAdie, Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, George Anthony Gaskill, John Woodbury, Alfred Lawrence Aiken, John Henry Edmonds, Leonard Leopold Mackall, Samuel Lyman Munson, William Roscoe Thayer, Merrick Lincoln, George Leander Shepley, James Benjamin Wilbur.

The call for the meeting having been read by the Secretary, the reading of the records of the last meeting was dispensed with by vote of the Society and the records were approved.

The President then read the report of the Council; Dr. S. B. Woodward presented the printed report of the Treasurer; and Mr. Brigham read the report of the Librarian. It was moved by Mr. Thayer, and so voted, that these three reports be accepted as the report of the Council and referred to the Committee of Publication.

Election of officers and new members being next in order, the President appointed Messrs. Edes, Wilbur and Chapin to collect, sort and count the ballots for President. They reported that all ballots cast were for Waldo Lincoln. The committee on other officers, appointed by the President, were Messrs. Cunningham, Morison and Edmonds, and they reported the following names to be acted upon by the Society:

Vice-Presidents.

Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Clarence Winthrop Bowen, LL.D., of New York, N. Y.

Councillors.

Granville Stanley Hall, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Samuel Utley, LL.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Charles Grenfill Washburn, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Francis Henshaw Dewey, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

Henry Winchester Cunningham, A.B., of Milton, Mass.

George Parker Winship, Litt. D., of Dover, Mass.

William Howard Taft, LL.D., of New Haven, Conn.

George Hubbard Blakeslee, Ph.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Henry Herbert Edes, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass.

Clarence Saunders Brigham, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

James Phinney Baxter, Litt. D., of Portland, Me.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence.

Worthington Chauncey Ford, Litt. D., of Cambridge, Mass.

Recording Secretary.

Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D., Litt. D., of Worcester, Mass.

Treasurer.

Samuel Bayard Woodward, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Committee of Publication.

George Henry Haynes, Ph.D., of Worcester, Mass.
Julius Herbert Tuttle, of Dedham, Mass.
John Henry Edmonds, of Boston, Mass.
Clarence Saunders Brigham, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

Auditors.

Benjamin Thomas Hill, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.
Homer Gage, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

The Secretary was authorized by vote to cast a yea ballot for the members so named and the President declared them elected. The oath of office was administered to the Secretary by Mr. Gaskill.

The President appointed Messrs. Norcross, McAdie and Gaskill a committee to collect the ballots for new members and this committee announced the unanimous election of the following:

Resident Members.

John Adams Aiken, of Greenfield, Mass.
William Gwinn Mather, of Cleveland, Ohio.
Fred Norris Robinson, of Cambridge, Mass.
Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, of Charleston, S. C.

Foreign Member.

Jorge M. Corbacho, of Lima, Peru.

Professor Blakeslee reported on the work accomplished by the graduate students at Clark University, selected to fill the American Antiquarian Society fellowship. He spoke strongly of the benefits to this Society which would follow the dissemination of a knowledge of our resources by these scholars, whose work had been done largely in the library of the Society.

There being no further business, the following papers were presented:

In the absence of Chief Justice Rugg, Mr. Dresser read his paper entitled, "The Case between Richard Sherman and Capt. Robert Keayne, 1642."

Dr. Nichols read a paper on "The Portraits of Isaiah Thomas." In connection with the paper he presented a pastel portrait of Mr. Thomas, in his name and that of Mr. Leonard C. Couch of Taunton, to whom the picture descended from Isaiah Thomas himself, through his grand-daughter Hannah, who was the grandmother of Mr. Couch.

Mr. Arthur Lord read a paper on "The Mayflower Compact." Mr. Munro, in congratulating the Society on this important paper, said that it should be widely read because of the large amount of misinformation on the subject of the Pilgrims which is being disseminated at this time by inaccurate articles.

Mr. T. Hovey Gage read a paper on "An Artist Index to Stauffer's American Engravers."

It was voted on motion of Mr. Edes, that these papers be referred to the Committee of Publication.

The President invited the members to lunch with him at his residence, 49 Elm Street, at the close of the meeting. There being no further business the meeting was dissolved.

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE Council has to report the deaths of four resident members and of one foreign member. Thomas McAdory Owen, LL.D., of Montgomery, Alabama, died at Montgomery, March 25, 1920, but the fact of his death was not known to the Council until after the April meeting. James Schouler, LL.D., of Intervale, New Hampshire, died at his home, April 16, 1920. Both these gentlemen were elected to membership in the Society in October, 1907. William Denison Lyman, A.M., of Walla Walla, Washington, who was elected to the Society in April 1902, died June 21, 1920. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt.D., of New Haven, Connecticut, who has been a member since April, 1879, and was at the time of his death the senior member of the Society, died in New Haven, August 13. From 1885 to 1897, he was a councillor and from 1897 to 1912 he was secretary of foreign correspondence, thus serving as a member of the Council for twenty-seven years and always a faithful attendant of its meetings. He withdrew from office to the great regret of his fellow councillors, but maintained his interest in the Society to the last. During his long membership he furnished seven papers to the Society's Proceedings, the last in 1917. Brief memoirs of these members will be prepared for publication in the Proceedings. The only death of a foreign member which has been reported is that of Samuel Alexander Lafone Quevedo, M. A., of La Plata, Argentine Republic, which occurred June 18, last. Señor Quevedo was Director of the Museum and Professor of Languages in the Faculty of Natural Sciences in the University of La Plata, and Professor

of Languages and American Archaeology in the University of Buenos Aires. He received the degree of M. A. at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1858 and was elected to this Society in 1910.

The death of Franklin Pierce Rice, chairman of the committee of publication threw much additional work on our already overburdened librarian, and this with the labor troubles common to all printing offices caused a much regretted but unavoidable delay in the publication of the Proceedings. In this emergency Mr. George Henry Haynes, the senior member of the committee, consented to take charge of the printing for a time at least, and the result is such that it is hoped that Mr. Haynes will continue in this important work. The number for last October has already been distributed to the members and that for last April is so far advanced that it will be ready for distribution before the end of the year.

Under the authority granted by the Society at the April meeting the dome of the building has been covered with copper and the interior of the dome has been repainted at a cost of $4,389.30 which has been added to the cost of the building. The work was well and satisfactorily done by the Clason Architectural Metal Works of Providence, Rhode Island, upon the recommendation of the J. W. Bishop Company of Worcester, the original contractors for the building. At the same time it was discovered that the whole roof, on which no repairs had been made for ten years, needed immediate attention, and that the upper part of the walls and all the joints in the marble trimmings needed repointing to save the walls from disintegration which had already begun. A contract was made with the Clason company to cover all the flat roofs with two thicknesses of tarred paper and a top coating of broken slag and the J. W. Bishop Company were ordered to do the necessary repointing. All this work was completed early in the summer at a total cost of $2,278.74. Of this $1,031.40 has been met from this

year's income and the balance temporarily charged to Building Account. The whole roof is in consequence completely water tight for the first time since the completion of the building and in better condition than ever, and in consequence of the covering of light colored slag, which reflects the sun's heat rays, all the upper rooms are much cooler in summer than heretofore.

The attention of the Society has been repeatedly called by the Council to the pressing need for an addition to the stack, especially to that part devoted to newspapers. Of course with every year the need becomes more urgent and a beginning has at last been made towards satisfying it by the establishment of a Building Fund which already amounts to over ten thousand dollars and to which all members are earnestly invited to contribute. It is designed to let this Fund accumulate by the addition of gifts and annual interest until sufficient to pay the cost of the proposed addition. This cost now, it is estimated, would require one hundred thousand dollars, but it is hoped that the expense of building will be so far reduced in the course of a year or two that a much smaller sum will suffice and the work will be commenced as soon as the Fund is large enough to warrant it. The Fund was started by the liberality of a citizen of Worcester, not a member of the Society, Mr. David Hale Fanning who, on the presentation of the Society's needs by Mr. Clarence W. Bowen, generously gave five thousand dollars to be devoted to the preservation and maintenance of the newspaper collection, Mr. Bowen agreeing to raise an equal amount from other friends and members of the Society. Your president in acknowledging Mr. Fanning's gift stated that the whole ten thousand dollars would form the nucleus of a building fund for an addition to the stack, to enable the Society to house and preserve its collection of newspapers. Mr. Bowen reports that he has already received subscriptions for the five thousand

dollars which he agreed to raise, part of which has already been paid and the rest will be paid next year, and all members will be asked to contribute to this fund during the coming year, making the payments to suit their own convenience either in full or by installments. It is proper to state that Mr. Fanning's gift is the largest sum of money ever given to the Society by a non-member.

This being the three hundredth anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, it may be interesting and profitable to recall what was done by this Society one hundred years ago to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary. The records of the sub-council contain the report of a committee which shows that that body had the subject in mind as early as January 15, 1819, when the committee was appointed, but the attention of the Society was not called to it until the annual meeting in 1820. The report is as follows:

Your committee, appointed to take into consideration the expediency of a publick commemoration of the landing of our Forefathers at the close of the second century since that auspicious event, have attended to that service, & beg leave to report.

The close of the second century since the landing of our Forefathers is a period, which peculiarly invites to a review of the rise, progress and final establishment of our Commonwealth. The little band of Pilgrims has become a numerous & powerful people. We are now in the possession of every blessing which renders a country dear, and life valuable. Our present state of high prosperity cannot be traced to any extraneous assistance which the first settlers of our country received from foreign nations; nor will it be found to originate in any peculiar qualities of our country itself. Our ancestors were persecuted refugees from the old world; and they without assistance encountered with the dangers of the wilderness, & the difficulties of a severe climate & a stubborn soil. To the discriminative characters of our forefathers, and to the institutions & habits which they transmitted are we to look for the causes of our present situation. The series of events thro' the last two hundred years fully display the legitimate effects of the principles of the men who laid the foundation of our Commonwealth.

Plymouth bears the traces of the first footsteps of our venerated ancestors; *there*, our retrospection of past events may be made with the most delightful emotion; *there*, the debt of gratitude to the fathers of our country will be felt with the greatest animation & warmth.

Therefore resolved,

That a committee be appointed to write to the Society of the Pilgrims in Plymouth, proposing an united celebration of the 20th of December 1820 in that town, by them and the American Antiquarian Society, in commemoration of the landing of our Forefathers.

All which is humbly submitted

(signed) Aaron Bancroft

Worcester February 1st 1819.

The minutes of the sub-council, which have never been printed, furnish the following:

Feb. 1, 1819. Voted: that the President and Rev. Dr. Bancroft, vice-president with the Hon. Levi Lincoln, Jun., be a committee to make a communication to the Society (of the Pilgrims) at Plymouth on the subject.

March 2, 1819. Voted: that the President be requested to address a note to Barnabas Hedge Esqr of Plymouth desiring him to transfer to the selectmen of that town the communication of this board, recently made, proposing to unite with the Pilgrim Society in celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of the Landing of our Ancestors.

June 7, 1819. The President reported that—he had addressed the following letter to Barnabas Hedge of Plymouth:

Worcester June 3^{d} 1819

The government of the American Antiquarian Society have been favoured with your answer to a Letter addressed to you by their Committee respecting a union with the Gentlemen in Plymouth in the Celebration of the two hundredth anniversary or fourth jubilee, of the Landing of our Ancestors in New England; and as you have informed the said Committee that there is no particular Society which conducts the proceedings on such anniversaries, but that they are usually regulated by the Selectmen of Plymouth; and, as the Government of the American Antiquarian Society have not the pleasure of an acquaintance with those gentlemen, I am requested by the Officers of said Society to desire you to have the goodness to transfer the Letter, some time since address'd to you by the Committee before mentioned, to your board of Selectmen, who are respectfully requested to consider said letter as addressed

to them, and when convenient to favour the officers of this Institution with their opinion on this highly interesting subject.

I am Sir — Your obedient servant
Barnabas Hedge, Esq. — Isaiah Thomas

No reply to this letter is on file or mentioned in the minutes, and nothing further was done about the celebration until July 24, 1820, when two letters were communicated from the Corresponding Secretary of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth and it was voted that the Corresponding Secretary acknowledge the receipt of the above letters and communicate the following vote:

At a meeting of the President, first vice-president and sub-council of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, July 24, 1820, Voted: that the Corresponding Secretary acknowledge the receipt of the late communication from the Corresponding Sec^y of the Pilgrim Society, and express the congratulations of the officers of this institution upon the occasion of the organization of that Society; and cordial approbation of their proposed arrangements for the celebration at Plymouth of the completion of the Second Century from the landing of our Forefathers; and our confident expectations that the American Antiquarian Society will have the honor of participating in the pleasure of the Festival, by a delegation of its members duly authorized at the annual meeting in October next.

Only one of the two letters mentioned in the foregoing record is on file, but it is quite evident that the other one was an announcement of the organization of the Pilgrim Society. The letter on file is as follows:

Isaiah Thomas Esqr.
Revd Aaron Bancroft, D.D.
Levi Lincoln Esqr.
} Plymouth, July 10, 1820

Gentlemen,

The completion of the second century since the first permanent settlement of New England, by the Pilgrims, will be commemorated at Plymouth, by the Pilgrim Society, on the twenty-second of December next.

An address before the Society, may be expected on this interesting occasion, by the Hon-Daniel Webster of Boston.

It is a vote of the trustees, "that the government of the American Antiquarian Society, be duly notified of these arrangements"—

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Isaiah Thomas Esqr. & others, a Committee of A-A-S	very respectfully, Samuel Davis Cor. Sec^{y} of the Pilgrim Society

At the annual meeting of the Society held Oct. 23, 1820, all the members were requested to attend the meeting of the Pilgrim Society on the 22nd of December if possible and the following gentlemen were appointed delegates: the President and Vice-Presidents, Hon. Edward H. Robbins, Rev. William Jenks, Rev. Charles Lowell, Benjamin Russell, Esq., Isaac Goodwin, Esq., Hon. Levi Lincoln, Hon. Oliver Fiske, Hon. Nathaniel Paine, Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, Samuel Jennison, Esq., and Edward D. Bangs, Esq. From the minutes of the sub-council it is learned that the President, one of the Vice-Presidents, several members of the Council, other Officers and many members of the Society, met at Plymouth, and joined the Pilgrim Society of the place, and the officers and a number of the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in celebrating the anniversary of the landing of our Forefathers in Plymouth "Two Hundred Years Ago."

This was the first celebration under the auspices of the Pilgrim Society which was incorporated Feb. 24, 1820, and the exercises consisted of a public meeting at the meeting-house at which an address was delivered by Hon. Daniel Webster, a dinner at the Court House when Hon. Levi Lincoln offered the congratulations of the American Antiquarian Society, and a ball in the evening at the same place. Mr. Thomas records in his Diary: "A number of respectable Gentlemen from various towns, assembled at Plymouth, as well as many Ladies on this occasion—more than 300 Gentlemen dined together in the Court house built this year, and at a ball in the Evening, at the same place more than

400 Ladies and Gentlemen were present—Tickets for dinner 2 dols. tickets for the ball 3 dols.—Everything well conducted."

The first building owned by the Society was dedicated one hundred years ago on the 24th of last August, with appropriate ceremonies. It was erected by Isaiah Thomas, the founder and first President entirely at his own expense and remained his property until his death, but in his will he gave the land and buildings to the Society on the express condition, that if the Society should at any time cease to use the building for its library and cabinet, then the whole estate should revert to Mr. Thomas's grandchildren and their heirs, a condition which proved very troublesome about twenty years later, when it became necessary for the Society to acquire a more commodious building. The lot whereon the building stood contained about one acre and was situated on the east side of Summer street, at the corner of what is now Belmont street but was then known as the Boston turnpike. Ground was broken for the building, May 31, 1819, and the work was finished August 9, 1820, when Mr. Thomas says in his Diary that he settled with the master workmen for the building. The total cost of the structure, without the land or fences or grading of the grounds, was $6,763.84. There seems to have been no general contractor employed. Mr. Thomas speaks of visiting the lot with the master builders and several gentlemen to lay out the ground for the building, and he settled for the building with the master workmen as previously stated. These master workmen are nowhere named in Mr. Thomas's Diary nor in his cash accounts, unless Calvin Darby, to whom he paid $227 in March, 1821, for stone work for the building, was the master mason.

Descriptions of the building are very meagre and unsatisfactory. No statement of its dimensions has been found, but from the engraving of it, first published on the map of Worcester in 1829, and from photo-

graphs of what remained of the front in 1910, it is seen to have been of brick, about fifty by thirty feet, of two stories, with a hip roof surmounted by a cupola. By counting the courses of bricks in the photograph it is estimated to have been twenty-three feet high between the stone underpinning and the roof, and the rooms were therefore about eleven feet in the clear. The front was relieved by two doric pilasters and four columns, all of wood, the four columns in advance of the face of the building by their diameters and upholding a doric entablature and pediment. This front furnished the motif of the classical façade of the present building. The following letter leaves little doubt that the building was designed by Peter Banner of Boston, but the plans could not have been very elaborate, judging from the modest sum asked for them.

Boston, Oct. 21, 1820.

Sir: I have expected you wold have ordered the small Bill for Drawing the plan of a Building for the Antiquarian Society. I wrote the Treasurer about a month since at the desire of Mr. Andrews but have not received any answer the amount is six dollars & you will please oblige by sending an order by return of Post.

I am S^r^ yours,

Isaiah Thomas, Esq. Peter Banner

Peter Banner's name appears in the Boston directories from 1805 to 1828 as an architect and builder. He is described as "an ingenious architect" of English birth of whom little is remembered. The Park Street Meeting-House was built from his designs and he is said to have done the carpenter work on it. He was also the builder of the Old South parsonage house in 1809, and the mansion of Eben Crafts on the northerly slope of Parker Hill in Roxbury was his work. A son of his is said to have been born in Worcester in 1834, so the father must have been living here then, but his name does not appear in the vital records. His father is said to have come to Boston from London in 1794 and Peter probably came at this same time.[1]

[1]Hist. of the the Old South Church, vol. ii, p. 343; Memorial Hist. of Boston, vol. iv, p. 476; Hist. of Washington, N. H., p. 293.

There are no floor plans of the building in existence and the following account which was first printed in the New York Daily Advertiser and copied in the Rhode Island American of August 20, 1824 furnishes the only available description of the interior.

"The building * * * is planned with great judgment and taste. It is situated on a broad street, a little removed from the centre of the town, where it is seen to great advantage, the view being obstructed by no neighbouring buildings; and the neat and chaste style in which it is constructed, together with the handsome access through a courtyard, give it an air well corresponding with the important literary objects to which it is devoted. On the first floor are several apartments intended for the reception of pamphlets, manuscripts, &c., for the use of the society which are already the depositaries of such documents as have been collected since its formation. A large hall in the rear of the second story is devoted to the valuable library of curious and ancient books presented by Mr. Thomas, amounting to between 7 and 8000 volumes. * * * On requesting a view of the cabinet of curiosities and antiques, the stranger is informed that no admission has been allowed for more than a year. There are collected all the interesting specimens of minerals, arms, utensils, dresses, ornaments, &c. which have been forwarded to the society from different parts of the country, with which the world have been made acquainted through their publications; but on account of the confused situation in which they are allowed to remain, they are considered unfit for exhibition."

Presumably this cabinet was kept in one or more of the small rooms on the first floor, but it may have been kept in the front of the second floor. The large hall on the second floor where the "curious and ancient books presented by Mr. Thomas" were kept had alcoves on the east wall, for the construction of which Mr. Thomas contracted May 18, 1820, for $300. Additional alcoves were constructed the following May, but no information is given as to their number or against which wall or walls they were built. This room was apparently used by the Society for its meetings and as the Worcester meetings until 1832 were usually held in summer no difficulty could have been found until then over the heating arrangements. That

these were unsatisfactory is evident from Mr. Thomas' will by which he leaves to the Society $1,000 on condition that it erects a fireproof wing to the building. The cut shows three chimneys and another is concealed by the roof, and it is probable that there were open fireplaces in some of the rooms, but if there were they were evidently a source of worry to Mr. Thomas. Until Mr. Thomas's death there was no permanent attendant at the library and visitors were obliged to seek some member who could admit them to the building and, of course, remain with them during the visit. In 1826 the librarian, Mr. William Lincoln, reports: "the books are now disposed in appropriate and separate departments * * * specimens illustrating the antiquities and history of the country * * * have been placed in order on the shelves of cabinets previously procured for their reception. The whole collection is so placed in the rooms of the building * * * that each volume may be conveniently found * * * ."

After Mr. Thomas's death, the building being already too small for the collections, and Mr. Thomas's bequests to the Society furnishing the means, it was decided to erect two wings to the building, one of which was to be as fireproof as would meet Mr. Thomas's conditions. The wings were completed in 1831 and the committee in charge (Governor Levi Lincoln and Frederick W. Paine) reported on October 24:

"Your committee * * * have erected two wings each 28 feet long and 21 feet wide, and two stories high. The rooms will finish about nine feet in the clear. It would have been desirable to have had the rooms higher but the building would have been disfigured if the roof of the wings had been so high as to have run into the main roof. The wings are both covered with zinc. The rooms of the north wing communicate with the main building, by a wooden door in each floor. The lower floor of the south wing has access to the main building by an iron door. The chamber of that wing has no communication with it. One outside door of the main building will be closed up [this was presumably on the south side as no door

shows on the north side in the cut] and there will be only one outside door in the south wing."

The committee considered the south wing, while not strictly fire-proof more so than Mr. Thomas contemplated. They advised that a vane be place on the cupola. They thought that the whole expense would be $1,400. In the following May the council authorized the building of fences and finishing the grounds and in October, 1832 the council reported that the cost of the two wings "will be about nineteen hundred and fifty dollars; one thousand dollars of which is provided for by the aforesaid legacy. The remainder must be met in such way as the Society shall direct." The report continues "the Council have the satisfaction to announce to the Society that the design of their late benefactor, Mr. Thomas, has been fulfilled in giving to the Librarian an apartment which is considered to be fire-proof, and by adding to the Hall a large apartment for books, which is already, in part, filled." On May 29, 1833, it was reported that "changes of the surface of the earth and of the fences * * * have been completed. The grounds have been surrounded with belts and groves of forest trees." The result of these changes is shown in the cut of the building which first appeared on the map of Worcester, dated 1833. A wood cut, which shows the iron fence and the "groves of forest trees" was printed in the Worcester Directory for 1858 with an advertisement of the Worcester Academy, which was then occupying the building, but an earlier wood-cut, showing a wooden fence and the belts of trees still immature, was printed in the "American Magazine of Useful Knowledge" for November, 1834. These wood-cuts show a chimney at the end of each wing and, like the late photograph, two chimneys on the south side of the main building.

The land on which the building was built proved to be full of springs and in consequence the books and papers suffered much from dampness, which in 1848, the librarian complained, pervaded the whole structure,

so that not only were the books injured but his own health was becoming seriously impaired. At the same time the shelves were overcrowded and the building in such a state of disrepair that a new structure in a different location seemed the only proper remedy. Through the generosity of Stephen Salisbury, Senior, this was finally accomplished and in 1853 the Society installed its collections in its second building, on the opposite side of Lincoln Square, next to the Court House, which it continued to occupy until its removal to the present building in 1910.

The land with the old Hall was sold in 1854 to the Worcester Academy and was occupied by it for school purposes until 1869. It then passed into private hands and the building remained intact until about 1890 when the north wing was torn down to make room for a four story apartment house which covered the whole north end of the lot. The rest of the building was used as a boarding house for some years, but gradually fell into ruin and was torn down about 1911, soon after the Society removed to its present location.

WALDO LINCOLN,

For the Council

APPENDIX

Chronology of the First Building of the American Antiquarian Society

June 1, 1814. Voted, that a committee be appointed to devise ways and means for raising funds to erect a suitable edifice to contain the Library and Museum, and that the President and Professor Peck be requested to prepare a nomination list of five members as suitable persons to serve on said committee (Proceedings, 1812-1849, p. 44).

Sept. 27, 1814. "Wrote the Subscription paper for an Edifice for the Antiqu So^{y}." (Diary of Isaiah Thomas, vol. i, p. 247).

Oct. 24, 1814. "As our original objects are to *collect* and *preserve*—that which demands our first attention, and on which the prosperity, if not the existence of this institution depends, is to provide means for, and to erect a suitable edifice for deposits. At a late meeting we voted to chose a Committee of Ways and Means to effect these purposes. As much depends on the choice of this Committee, it has been deferred till this time." (From a Communication from the President, Proceedings, 1812-1849, p. 58.) The committee was chosen at this meeting as follows:—William Paine, M. D., Samuel J. Prescott, Esq., Benjamin Russell, Esq., Rev. William Bentley, Hon. Edward Bangs together with such others as the President and Council shall appoint. (Ibid).

May 9, 1817. "Whereas the President has very generously offered to contribute towards the erection of a building for the accommodation of the Society, a site suitable for this purpose, 150,000 Bricks and $2000 in cash. Voted: that the Committee of Ways and Means be requested to issue a subscription paper and present it to those who may be disposed to aid in the attainment of the object" (Records of the Sub-Council, unpublished).

June 26, 1817. "That part of the Committee of Ways and Means residing in Worcester made a report, that it is expedient that a subscription be opend to procure a sum in order to enable the Society to build a suitable edifice for a library and Cabinet &c.; to elect a proper person to apply to the members &c., in the United States for this purpose, and that this person be furnished with 500 Dollars to enable him to proceed on his mission" (Proceedings, 1812-1849, p. 125).

Jan. 19, 1818. Unpublished letter of Isaiah Thomas.

Worcester, Jany. 19th. 1818.

Sir,

I am favoured with yours of the 16th inst. and thank you for your attention to my request.

I fully intended to have been in Boston this week, and to have met the Am. Antiq'^{n} Society on Wednesday next; but attending a Chemical Lecture a few Evenings since I took a violent cold which has confined me indoors, and will prevent my journey to town; which I much regret.

Among the Communications which I am desirous to make to the Society, are the following, viz.

1. That the Donations in Books, for the last year, amount to 550 Volumes (many of which are valuable) and about 200 pamphlets. Several articles have also been presented for the Cabinet.

2. That it is very important, a Building of some kind should be erected for the safe keeping of the Library and the articles for the Cabinet.

3. That a handsome Lot of Land, nearly an acre, in a good situation, 100,000 Bricks, and 2000 dollars in Cash, is offered by a member of the Society towards the erecting an Edifice for the purpose mentioned in the preceding article, provided an additional and an adequate sum is added, by subscription, or otherwise, to complete the Edifice,—(The additional sum wanted may be about 7000 dollars.)

4. That it seems expedient that a new Com.^{ee} of Ways and Means should be speedily chosen.

5. That a Seal for the Society is much wanted.

6. That the Librarian has, agreeably to a Vote of the Society, made out a Catalogue of the Library excepting the Books which have been added since August last, when he finished his labour, which required much time and attention, and for which he is intitled to reasonable compensation.

7. That Letters have been received from many eminent men (some of them residing in Europe) highly approbating of the Institution.

8. That it is my wish, at the next election of Officers, not to be considered as a Candidate for the Presidency. My regard for the Institution is not, nor will it be diminished. I shall ever be as ready to promote the interest of the Society as a private member as I have been since I have had the honour of being elected President.

I have but little time to write as the Mail is near closing. Be so good as to submit the foregoing to the Society. If agreeable to them, I should be glad to have the meeting again adjourned,—say to the 2^{d} or 3^{d} Wednesday in April next—or to such time as the Society shall judge to be best.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Your, and the Society's,
Most obedient, ser'vt,
Isaiah Thomas.

Mr. N. G. Snelling,
A. S. Recording Sec^{y}.
Am. Antiq^{n}. So^{y}.

April 15, 1818. "The President communicated to the Society the present state of the library and cabinet, and suggested the propriety of taking some order relative to the erection of a building for the arrangement and preservation of the Society's collections." "*Voted* that this subject be referred to an adjournment of the present meeting to be held at this place at the day afternamed" (Ibid. p. 131).

June 2, 1818. "*Voted*, That the further consideration of the location of the building, etc., be postponed to the annual meeting in October." (Ibid. p. 133).

June 25, 1818. "Sundry concerns of the Society were discussed, and more particularly, the means and measures proper to be adopted to erect a suitable building for the use of the Society, on which subject it was—*Voted*, That a committee be chosen to investigate the subject and to report at an adjournment of the meeting. Hon. Nathaniel Paine, Hon. Abijah Bigelow and Rejoice Newton were chosen" (Ibid. p. 133).

July 16, 1818. "That committee appointed to consider and report on the subject of erecting a suitable building for the use of the Society, made report which was recommitted to the same committee" (Ibid. p. 134).

July 20, 1818. "*Voted*, That the committee who made report at the meeting holden on the 16th inst. be excused from any further consideration thereof, and that the same report and the subject on which the same was made, be committed to a new committee to consist of Levi Lincoln, Jun., and Rejoice Newton" (Ibid. p. 134).

July 23, 1818. "The committee appointed at the last meeting not having been able to make any definite report on the subject referred to them, *Voted* that this meeting be dissolved" (Ibid).

Feb. 1, 1819. In an address of this date "to the members," published the following March, it is stated: "By the liberality of the President, a suitable building will speedily be erected in Worcester. A site sufficiently spacious and commodious has been obtained, and the materials for building are nearly prepared."

May 17, 1819. "Went with several gentlemen and the master builders, to view and lay out the ground whereon to erect a building for the American Antiquarian Library'" (Diary of Isaiah Thomas, vol. ii, p. 15).

May 31, 1819. "This day the workmen broke ground to lay the foundation of a building for the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, in a lot which belongs to me and which I have appropriated for that purpose." (Ibid. p. 18.)

June 12, 1819. "The workmen began laying the cellar wall of the intended Building for a Library, &c. for the American Antiquarian Society'" (Ibid. pp. 19-20).

Aug. 5, 1819. "Voted, that at the request of the President, a committee be appointed to superintend the building, now erecting by him for the use of the Society. Levi Lincoln, Jun., Nathaniel Maccarty and Rejoice Newton, Esqs. chosen'" (Proceedings, 1812-1849, pp. 143-4).

Oct. 23, 1819. From the Report of the Committee on General Progress and State of the Society: "Within the last year our venerable and enterprising President, in praise of whose munificence too much cannot be said, has erected at great expense, a handsome, commodious and substantial building for the use and benefit of the Society. It will probably be ready for the reception of the Library and Cabinet at some time during the next season. It is sufficiently large to answer all the purposes of the Society for many years, and is so constructed, that whenever more room shall be wanted, additions may be made without disfiguring, but would rather increase the elegance of the edifice'" (Ibid. p. 147).

April 4, 1820. "Voted, That there be a public Dedication of the building intended for the use of the Society when the same shall be ready, and the Library and Cabinet are placed therein—

"Voted, that a Committe be chosen for the purpose of making suitable arrangements for the same, and that the Committee consist of three.

Rev. Doct^r Bancroft
Levi Lincoln, Junr Esq.
Abijah Bigelow, Esq.
} were chosen."

(Minutes of the Sub-Council).

April 16, 1820. The foregoing committee made the following report: "Your Committee, appointed to take into consideration what measures it is expedient to adopt, on opening the Building erected by the munificence of our President for the use of the Society, have attended that service, and in their report beg leave to recommend the subsequent arrangements in the public celebration of an event so auspicious to the interests of the Institution. That the Society, on the day of their semi-annual meeting in June next, assemble in the North Church in Worcester and attend the following exercises:

1. Public Prayer and praise to God, the Author of all good.
2. An address from the President.
3. An Oration from a member of the Society.

That the Singers and Musicians of the Town be desired to give their attendance on the occasion, and perform appropriate pieces of musick—and that on the close of the publick solemnities, the Society dine in publick at the Inn of Col. R. Sikes.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

Worcester, April 10, 1820. A. Bancroft, per order.

Voted to accept the above report.

Voted that the above committee be also a Committee to apply to some gentleman of the Society to deliver an Oration or an Address as above mentioned" (Minutes of the Sub-Council).

May 8, 1820. "The Committee appointed to make arrangements for the dedication of the building to be appropriated to the use of the Society, reported that they had applied to Isaac Goodwin, Esq. of Sterling to deliver an address on the occasion, and that he had complied with their request.

Voted, To choose a Committee to determine on a place of arranging and preparing the room for the reception of the Library and Cabinet.

Doct Oliver Fiske
Hon. Abijah Bigelow } Committee chosen.

Voted, To choose a Committee to devise ways and means for furnishing the interior of the building for the Library and Cabinet with proper furniture, and for fixing the grounds &c. about the building intended for the use of the Society.

Levi Lincoln
Edward D. Bangs
Benjamin Russell
Stephen Codman
Nath[l] Maccarty, Esq[rs] } Committee chosen.

N. B. This Committee did not report.'"

(Minutes of the Sub-Council).

May 18, 1820. "Agreed with the workmen to build the Alcoves on the East Wall of the Library Room for the American Antiquarian Society for 300 dollars" (Diary of Isaiah Thomas, vol. ii, p. 53).

June 26, 1820. "Voted, That Thursday the 24th of August next be the day on which to dedicate the building appropriated for the use of the Society, agreeably to report of the Committee made April 10th" (Sub-Council Minutes).

July 24, 1820. "Voted, That the President, Secretaries, and Librarian be a Committee to agree upon a plan for the arrangement and placing the Library and Cabinet in the new building" (Ibid).

Aug. 9, 1820. "Settled with the Master Workmen for building the American Antiquarian Society Library. This building cost—the mere building cost, without Land, or fences, of fixing the grounds, &c. 6752 dollars 84 cents. The building only. Extra Labour on the Cellar, 11 dollars in all 6763 dollars 84 cents" (Diary of Isaiah Thomas, vol. ii, p.59).

Aug. 15-23, 1820. Mr. Thomas says in his Diary that he "was very busily and laboriously engaged in removing Library &c. to the new building."

Aug. 24, 1820. "On this day the President, vice President Bancroft, sub-council, and other officers of the Society, met in the new building for the Library, &c. together with a number of the members, and went in procession to the church of the north parish, where the Dedication was performed agreeably to the order on the 10th of April last. A large number of people visited the Library after the Exercises were over" (Minutes of the Sub-Council).

From the "Massachusetts Spy" of Aug. 30.

DEDICATION

On Thursday last the elegant and commodious building lately erected in this town for the accommodation of the American Antiquarian Society was dedicated to their use with suitable solemnities. The Society

assembled at their new Hall at 10 o'clock and at 11, moved in procession to the North Meeting-house. The services were opened by prayer, from the Rev. Dr. Bancroft, who also read select passages from the Sacred Volume. The Address, by Isaac Goodwin, Esq. was learned and ingenious, and was received with much satisfaction by a numerous audience. Sacred Musick was performed by a choir of singers from the various religious societies in this town. After the services, the Society returned to their Hall; and, from thence, repaired to *Sike's* Coffee-House, where a most sumptuous entertainment was provided for the occasion. Mr. Goodwin's address will soon be submitted to the publick."

March 10, 1821. "Paid Calvin Darby 227 dollars in rent, for stone work for the Am. Antiq^{n} Library" (Diary of Isaiah Thomas, vol. ii, p. 65).

May 28, 1821. "Carpenters began to finish the new alcoves in the American Antiq^{n} Library Room" (Ibid. p. 87).

June 7, 1821. "Carpenters finished the additional alcoves in the Hall of the Am. Antiquarian So^{y}" (Ibid. p. 88).

Sept. 6, 1821. "Began putting up front fences at Antiq^{n} Hall" (Ibid. p. 95).

Sept. 13, 1821. "Put up the side wooden fences at Antiquarian Hall" (Ibid. p. 96).

Sept. 15, 1821. "Finished putting up the Iron fence in front of Antiquarian Hall" (Ibid. p. 96).

Oct. 23, 1821. From a report of the committee on the state of the Society: "The building erected for the use of the Society is now completed and enclosed in manner displaying at once the taste and liberality of the donor. This building which is highly ornamental as a public edifice and well calculated to give respectability and permanency to the Institution, we are informed, has been thus finished at the expense of eight thousand dollars. * * * In the meantime it has become necessary, for the proper distribution and preservation of the books, that an additional room be fitted for their reception. The Cabinet, also, is but imperfectly arranged, and to place it in a condition suitable for the inspection of visitors, it is important that other rooms should be prepared" (Proceeding 1812-1849, p. 170).

Dec. 29, 1821. Voted, That a committee be chosen to construct such alcoves and other accommodations, in Antiquarian Hall, for the use of the Library and Cabinet, as they shall think proper. * * * Abijah Bigelow and Rejoice Newton Esqs., were chosen" (Ibid. p. 175).

Mr. Thomas died April 4, 1831 and in his will he made the following devise:

"I give to said Society" (the American Antiquarian) (provided I shall not before my death execute a deed thereof) and their successors forever, that tract of land in Worcester whereon is now erected a building for the use of said Society, which land I purchsed of Samuel Chandler's heirs, containing about one acre near the Second Parish, with the said building thereon; which building is to be forever sacredly appropriated as long as

said Society shall exist, for the library, cabinet, &c., of said Society; and the house and building are accordingly devised upon this express condition. And in case said Society shall at any time cease to use said building for said purpose, then the whole of this estate is to revert to my grandchildren generally and their heirs."

Mr. Thomas also gave to the Society a legacy of one thousand dollars for the purpose and on condition, that the Society erect a fire-proof wing or wings to Antiquarian Hall.

June 30, 1831. "Frederick W. Paine, Isaac Goodwin and Rejoice Newton, a committee appointed by the Sub-Council to consider and report on the subject of erecting a fire-proof wing or wings to Antiquarian Hall under the provisions of the will of the late Dr. Thomas made report: * * * "Your committee recommend the erection of two wings as soon as may be convenient. Each wing to be twenty-five feet long and twenty deep, two stories high and covered with slate or zinc. One of the wings to have the floors covered with stone or brick and to communicate with the main building by means of an iron door. The expense will not exceed, we think, $1200.

"Your committee would suggest the propriety of painting the main building where it is wood, the expense of which they estimate at less than $35, including the cupola, which latter, however, your committee consider neither useful nor ornamental, but on the contrary, as defacing the building, and being difficult to render tight, and they therefore would suggest the propriety of taking it away. I. G., however, objects to that part of the report which recommends removing the cupola" (Proceedings, 1812-1849, p. 239).

Oct. 24, 1831. Report of the Building Committee (Gov. L. Lincoln and F. W. Paine). * * * "Your committee * * * have erected two wings each twenty-eight feet long and twenty-one feet wide, and two stories high. The rooms will finish about nine feet in the clear. It would have been desirable to have had the rooms higher but the building would have been disfigured if the roof of the wings had been so high as to have run onto the main roof. * * * The wings are both covered with zinc. * * * The rooms of the north wing communicate with the main building, by a wooden door in each floor. The lower floor of the south wing has access to the main building by an iron door. The chamber of that wing has no communication with it. One outside door of the main building will be closed up and there will be only one outside door in the south wing. Your committee are aware a building of the description of this south wing cannot be termed in strictness a fire-proof building, but they have every reason to believe it is more so than Mr. Thomas contemplated and it is in their opinion entirely fire-proof against all ordinary internal accidents, while the location removes any danger which would arise from contiguous buildings being on fire. Against the incendiary or lightning, no building is fire-proof. Perhaps in prudence a lightning rod should be placed on the main building, and it certainly would add much to

the appearance of the cupola if the Society would direct a vane to be placed on it.

"The Society will probably expect some account of the expense of these wings but owing * * * to the building not being finished, it is out of their power at this time to make a correct statement. The first proposition was to have the wings 25 x 20, but your Committee * * * increased the dimensions to those before stated, and if they have anything to regret it is not having made them larger. It was supposed that $1200 would have been nearly sufficient for defraying the expense. The enlargement of the size will of course add to that amount, and some work has been done which was not contemplated at first. Of some items no estimate could be formed, such as the expense of preparing and finishing the ground and altering the fences. If your committee ventured to guess any sum, it would be about $1400 * * * and they cannot think the Society will blame them for extravagance should the sum of $1400 be exceeded by a small amount" (Ibid. pp. 251-2).

May 30, 1832. From the Report of the Secretary: "The Council have also authorized the building of fences and finishing the grounds about the Hall, which work is now in operation."

Oct. 24, 1832. From Report of the Council. "Two wings to their Hall have been erected and are now finished. Repairs and some alterations have been made in the main body of the building rendered necessary by the additions: the want of proper ventilation and the rot occasioned by damp and leakage. The grounds and fences have also undergone considerable change, it being desirable to drain the land more effectually and to make it, as well as the fences, conform to the building in its present shape. * * * the expense * * * will be about nineteen hundred and fifty dollars * * * the design of their late benefactor has been fulfilled in giving to the Librarian an apartment which is considered fireproof, and by adding to the Hall a large apartment for books, which is already in part filled."

From the Report of the Building Committee. "If the funds of the Society would admit of it, the addition of a portico would much improve the appearance of the building." (Ibid. pp. 257-260).

May 29, 1833. From Report of the Council. "Changes of the surface of the earth and of the fences * * * have * * * been completed The grounds have been surrounded with belts and groves of forest trees planted by the Librarian. The good taste of arrangement will render them objects of beauty, and, on maturity, the green enclosure will afford no inconsiderable protection from the fires of the dense population fast closing around, in near vicinity" (Ibid, p. 265).

May 31, 1848. From Report of the Council. "It becomes necessary to advert to the location and condition of the Society's building. Its limited capacity for affording the desired accommodation for all the purposes of the Society, its unfavorable location, when considered as an object of public interest in its exterior character, and in regard to the

convenience of access, has long been regretted. * * * although" [its contents] "are safe from the element which most rapidly destroys, they are yet exposed to * * * a certain degree of injury from the exceeding dampness which it has been found impracticable effectually to prevent, while the health of those engaged within its walls * * * is liable to be seriously affected" (Ibid. pp. 356-7).

From the Librarian's Report. "The excessive dampness that pervades the entire structure is deleterious to everything that is exposed to its influence. He [the librarian] has reason to believe that his own health has thus been gradually but seriously impaired. Great caution has continually to be exercised by himself, and even to be inculcated upon those who casually visit the rooms" (Ibid. p. 546).

May 30, 1849. From Report of the Council. "The Council would call the attention of the Society to the condition of the Antiquarian Hall. The building, as the Society is aware, is but illy fitted for the purpose of a library. The distribution of the books into some half dozen different apartments, renders the use of the library less convenient and its appearance less imposing and attractive. The building is not fire-proof and being near to the railroad depot and to a large school house is exposed to loss by fire. The dampness of the rooms is such as to be very detrimental to the books and papers and to render resort to the Library, except at midsummer, uncomfortable and unhealthy. The building itself is going to decay; the sills and floors rotting, the walls cracking and the plastering becoming loose and falling. Large expense must be incurred in another attempt to drain the ground and to put the building in thorough repair or a new lot, etc., procured and a new building erected. The only difficulty with the latter, which is undoubtedly the wiser course, grows out of the will of the grantor of the estate, by a provision of which the Hall, when it ceases to be used for the purposes of the library, reverts to certain of the heirs of the testator. To remove this difficulty, releases from heirs who would be entitled to one-half of the estate have already been obtained and may, it is believed, be procured from the rest" (Ibid. p. 558).

OBITUARIES

THOMAS McADORY OWEN

Thomas McAdory Owen died March 25, 1920, at Montgomery, Alabama. He was born in Jefferson County, December 15, 1866, the son of Dr. William M. and Nancy L. McAdory Owen. He was graduated from the University of Alabama in 1887, receiving at that time the degrees of A.B. and LL.B., and the honorary degrees of A.M. in 1893 and of LL.D. in 1904. He practiced law from 1887 to 1901, during which period he was also city solicitor of Bessemer from 1890 to 1893, assistant solicitor of Jefferson County in 1892 and chief clerk of the inspecting division of the Post Office Department at Washington from 1894 to 1897. He was chairman of the Democratic executive committee at Jefferson County from 1890 to 1892.

Dr. Owen took much interest in all forms of historical work and enterprise. He was Secretary of the Society of the Sons of the Revolution in Alabama since its organization in 1894, was one of the founders of the Southern History Association in 1896; was Secretary of the Alabama Historical Society since its reorganization in 1898; and was Historian-General of the Alabama Division of the United Sons of Confederate Veterans since 1907. In 1901 he was elected the first Director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, for a term of six years, being re-elected in 1907, 1913 and 1919. He was one of the founders of the Gulf States Historical Magazine and edited its first volume; founder of the Alabama Library Association in 1904 and President since that date; one of the founders of the Alabama Anthropological Society in 1907; Secretary of the Alabama Conference Historical Society, and a member of several national historical

organizations. He prepared an elaborate Bibliography of Alabama which was printed in the 1897 Report of the American Historical Association, and followed this two years later by a Bibliography of Mississippi. He made a Report on the Alabama Archives for the Annual Report of 1904. He compiled the Alabama Official Register in 1907, wrote several genealogical pamphlets and contributed frequently to the publications of various historical societies.

He was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society in 1907, although distance prevented him from attending its meetings. He was a frequent correspondent, however, and in one of his last letters written shortly before his death, he said, "I beg to express my continuing appreciation of the courtesy of the Society in retaining my name on its roll of members. I always look forward with keen interest to the receipt of the Society's publications. The output is wholesome, and is well up to the standard of the best historical traditions." At the time of his death he was preparing a reprint of Bernard Romans' "Florida, 1775," with elaborate annotations, but this work with other historical projects was unfortunately never finished. However, Dr. Owen's four volume history of Alabama was in press at the time of his death and when issued in the spring will form the source book for historical students in the Alabama field. On April 12, 1893, Dr. Owen married at Fayette, Alabama, Marie Susan, daughter of Hon. John Hollis Bankhead, United States Senator from Alabama. His widow was elected by the Board of Trustees to fill his unexpired term as Director of the Alabama Department of Archives.

C. S. B.

JAMES SCHOULER

James Schouler was born at Arlington, Mass., March 20, 1839, and died at North Conway, N. H., April 16, 1920. He was the son of William and

Frances Warren Schouler. He was graduated from Harvard in 1859 and was admitted to the Massachusetts Bar in 1862. In the summer of the latter year, however, he joined as second lieutenant a Dedham Company in the 43d Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, served in various capacities in North and South Carolina and received his discharge in 1863. He then resumed the practice of the law. Afflicted by deafness, he gradually gave up practice in the courts and began writing on legal and historical subjects. After the publication of several important legal textbooks, he began on the writing of his History of the United States, the first volume of which appeared in 1880. In 1883 he received the post of lecturer in law at the Boston University Law School, which position he retained until 1902. From 1888 to 1908 he also gave occasional lectures in law at the National University in Washington, and from 1891 to 1908 at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. He was married on December 14, 1870, to Emily Fuller Cochran, daughter of Asa F. Cochran, of Boston. His wife died November, 2, 1904. During the latter part of his life, Mr. Schouler lived at Intervale, N. H., in the town which was formerly his summer home.

Mr. Schouler's "History of the United States under the Constitution," in seven volumes, was his most noted work, covering the country's history as late as 1877, and emphasizing the social and economic life of the people. His other historical works were "Thomas Jefferson," 1893; "Historical Briefs, with a Biography," 1896; "Constitutional Studies," 1897; "Alexander Hamilton," 1901; "Eighty Years of Union, a Short History of the United States," 1903; "Americans of 1776," 1906; "Ideals of the Republic," 1908. He was a member of many historical and literary societies, and was president of the American Historical Association in 1897. He was elected to the American Antiquarian Society in 1907. C. S. B.

WILLIAM DENISON LYMAN

William Denison Lyman died June 21, 1920, at Walla Walla, Washington. He was born at Portland, Oregon, December 1, 1852, the son of Horace and Mary Denison Lyman, California pioneers of 1848. He received his early education at the Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon, and later attended Williams College, where he was graduated in 1877. In this same year he began teaching history and literature at the Pacific University and there continued until 1886. After a short interval he went in 1889 to Walla Walla, where he began his long tenure of service as the head of the department of history of Whitman College, which continued until his death. On June 15, 1882, he married Mattie Clark of Vancouver, Washington, who, with four children survived him.

Dr. Lyman was well known as a historian, lecturer and publicist. He was a leading advocate of river and harbor improvements, and also was interested in mountain climbing and amateur photography. His published works include the "History of Walla Walla County," 1901; "History of Snohomish and Skagit Counties," 1906; and "The Columbia River," 1909. He was elected to the American Antiquarian Society in April 1902. He contributed to the Proceedings of the Society three papers: "The Painted Rocks of Lake Chelan" in October 1902; "Myths and Superstitions of the Oregon Indians" in April 1904; and "Indian Myths of the Northwest" in October 1915.

C. S. B.

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER

In the death of Franklin Bowditch Dexter on the 13th of August last, this Society lost a devoted member and a long-time faithful officer. Mr. Dexter was born in Fairhaven, Mass., September 11, 1842, the son of Rodolphus W. and Mary H. (Taber) Dexter. He received his A. B. at Yale in 1861, the youngest but one in his class, and his A. M. in 1864. In 1902 the

university conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. He was married in 1880 to Theodosia M. Wheeler of New Haven who survives him with one daughter.

Almost immediately after graduation he became connected with the university, as assistant in instruction in the Sheffield Scientific School, tutor in college and assistant and cataloguer in the library. In 1869, he became assistant librarian and so remained until his retirement from active work in 1912. In this capacity his service was of great value, especially in instituting and developing the card catalogue. He was Secretary of the university from 1870 to 1899 and Larned Professor of American History from 1877 to 1888. Mr. Dexter's official positions led naturally to his most important published work, as in a way official historian of the university, a line of work especially attractive to him and for which he was especially fitted. The first volume of his "Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College with Annals of the College" appeared in 1885, and the work was completed by the publication of the sixth volume in 1912, bringing the record down to 1815. To this work should be added as an even more important contribution to New England history his "Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles" in three volumes, 1901, followed in 1916 by "The Itineraries and Correspondence of Ezra Stiles" in one volume. Both these undertakings, but especially the editions of President Stiles's writings, display a most minute and extensive knowledge of historical details, of life and customs, and of facts of family and general interest, and they make clear the characteristics of Mr. Dexter's work—thorough investigation, unwearying industry and strict accuracy. These traits are to be found in all his other numerous contributions to Yale history and in his edition of the New Haven Town Records, 1649-84, in two volumes, 1917-18.

Mr. Dexter was elected a member of this Society in 1879 and at the time of his death was its senior member. He was a member of the Council from 1885 to 1897 and Secretary for Foreign Correspondence from 1897 to 1912. He made many contributions to the Proceedings of the Society, including the following:

History of Connecticut in the Names of her Towns, 1885.

Estimates of Population in American Colonies, 1887.

Selections from Letters Received by David Daggett, 1887.

Social Distinctions at Harvard and Yale before the Revolution, 1894.

Historical Study of the Presidency in Yale College, 1898.

Early Private Libraries in New England, 1907.

Student Life in Yale College under President Dwight, 1918.

In 1909, Mr. Dexter presented $200 to the Society for the purchase of certain bibliographical works, and in 1919 he donated to the library his collection of Yale Class Records.

Besides the above named books and papers, Mr. Dexter was the author of a large number of papers and articles read at the meetings of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, of which he was one of the most active members, or on other occasions. In 1918 he collected some twenty-four of these in a privately published volume. The earliest of these bears the date of 1868 and the latest of 1917. They are especially valuable for the light they throw on private life in the town and college of the past.

It is impossible for one who knew Mr. Dexter well to close a sketch of his life and work without a word upon the personal side, for even more characteristic of the man to those who were his friends than his scholarly traits were his "genius for friendship," his unfailing kindness and his generous and appreciative regard for others. G. B. A.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer presents herewith his annual report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending Sept. 30, 1920, to which is appended a statement of the Society's investments and of the condition of the various funds.

Oct. 1, 1920 the net assets were invested as follows:

Library Building	$195,256.30
Public Funds	111,184.56
Railroad bonds	94,572.50
Miscellaneous bonds	74,560.75
Railroad shares	22,017.00
Bank shares	5,314.00
Miscellaneous shares	11,234.50
Mortgages	11,600.00
Bank deposit	1,000.00
Cash on deposit	416.16
	$527,155.77
Which sum includes unexpended income amounting to	27.66
	$527,128.11
Less Library Building	195,256.30
Capital bearing interest	$331,871.81

Norton Co. bonds to the amount of $3,000 were exchanged for 30 shares Norton Co. 7% preferred stock with a profit of $60. The following bonds were paid or exchanged during the year:

$12,000	City of Woonsocket	4's	1929
5,000	City of Middletown	3½'s	1925
1,000	United Kingdom of G. B. & I	5½'s	1921
15,000	City of Baltimore	4's	1955
5,000	City of Jersey City,	4's	1928
5,000	Penobscot Shore Line R. R.	4's	1920
2,000	Wor. & Webster St. Ry.	5's	1919

The following bonds were either bought for cash or taken in exchange for the preceding:

$19,000	U. S. Gov't 4th	4¼'s	1938
5,000	No. States Power Co.	5's	1941
1,000	United Kingdom of G. B. & I.	5½'s	1937
16,000	Toronto Harbour Commissioners	4½'s	1953
10,000	United Kingdom of G. B. & I.	5½'s	1929
2,000	U. S. Rubber	5's	1947
1,000	Consumers Power Co.	5's	1936
5,000	Danville, Champaign & Decatur Ry. & Light	5's	1938
3,000	Bell Tel. Co. of Canada	7's	1925
4,000	Swiss Confederation	8's	1940
1,000	Duquesne Light Co.	5's	1938

The above bonds were exchanged with a net decrease in our Profit & Loss account of $586.13. This, however is purely a matter of bookkeeping and when the bonds mature a large profit will accrue to the Society. A mortgage of $3,500 held on property of B. F. Sawyer was paid and the proceeds invested in bonds.

Principal account has been increased by receipt of $100 for Life Memberships; $525 from Gifts; $1,184.97 by sale of duplicates; $63.65 from James Lyman Whitney Estate; $6,000 from Andrew McF. Davis; $5,000 from David H. Fanning; $500 from C. W. Bowen; $200 from Arthur P. Rugg; and $1,000 from S. L. Munson.

Fifty shares of Fitchburg R. R. Co. have been exchanged for a like amount of Boston & Maine 1st preferred.

The Society has received notice from the St. Louis Union Trust Co., that they hold in trust certain bonds given them by Mr. W. K. Bixby with the understanding that the income is to be paid to the Society. This will increase our income account $100 yearly.

SAMUEL B. WOODWARD, *Treasurer*.

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Principal Oct. 1, 1919 (less unexpended income for 1919)			$515,645.61
Principal received since Oct. 1, 1919			
George A. Gaskill Life Membership		$50.00	
Max Farrand Life Membership		50.00	
Income added to principal:			
Purchasing Fund	$5.00		
James L. Whitney Fund	26.00		
Andrew McF. Davis Fund	240.00		
Building Fund	67.00		
		338.00	
A. P. Rugg to Centennial Fund		200.00	
S. L. Munson to Centennial Fund		1,000.00	
Anonymous Gift to Special Gifts Fund		400.00	
Anonymous Gift to Special Gifts Fund		100.00	
Emily E. F. Skeel to Special Gifts Fund		25.00	
James L. Whitney Est.		63.65	
Andrew McF. Davis		6,000.00	
David H. Fanning to Building Fund		5,000.00	
C. W. Bowen to Building Fund		500.00	
Sale of Duplicates		1,184.00	
Profit & Loss			
Norton Co. bonds		60.00	
Penobscot Shore Line R. R. bonds		57.00	
City of Woonsocket bonds		101.00	
Worcester Nat. Bank (Divd. in Liq.)		300.00	
Old Boston Nat. Bank (Divd. in Liqd.)		15.00	
			15,444.62
			$531,090.23
Expended from Purchasing Fund		2,242.99	
Expended from Special Gifts Fund		600.00	
Profit & Loss: City of Middletown bonds		25.00	
United Kingdom of G. B. & I.		13.13	
City of Baltimore bonds		900.00	
City of Jersey City bonds		181.00	
			3,962.12
			$527,128.11

INCOME ACCOUNT

Unexpended income 1919	$562.70	
Income from Investments	15,921.82	
Assessments	310.00	
Sales of Publications	45.27	
		16,839.79
		$543,967.90

EXPENDITURES

Income carried to Principal	338.00	
Incidental Expense	1,435.15	
Salaries	7,455.00	
Light, Heat, Water and Telephone	1,313.41	
Office Expense	494.19	
Supplies	370.26	
Books	2,206.24	
Publishing	1,461.98	
Binding	600.00	
Care of Grounds	528.64	
Extra Service	609.26	
		16,812.13
		$527,155.77

ASSETS

Real Estate	$195,256.30	
Mortgages	11,600.00	
Bonds	280,317.81	
Stocks	38,565.50	
Bank Deposit	1,000.00	
Cash on Deposit	416.16	527,155.77
		$527,155.77
Unexpended Balance Oct. 1, 1920		27.66
Principal Oct. 1, 1920		$527,128.11

Oct. 1, 1920

Condition of the Fund Accounts

Fund Title	Principal	Balance 1919	Income 1919	Expended 1919	Balance
1–Alden	$1,000.00		$50.00	$50.00	
2–Bookbinding	7,500.00		375.00	375.00	
3–George Chandler	500.00		25.00	25.00	
4–Collection and Research	17,000.00		850.00	850.00	
5–I. and E. L. Davis	23,000.00	$107.00	1,150.00	1,257.00	
6–John and Elisa Davis	4,900.00		245.00	245.00	
7–F. H. Dewey	4,800.00		240.00	240.00	
8–G. E. Ellis	17,500.00		875.00	875.00	
9–Librarian's and General	35,000.00		1,750.00	1,750.00	
10–Haven	1,500.00		75.00	75.00	
12–Life Membership	4,000.00		195.00	195.00	
13–Lincoln Legacy	7,000.00		350.00	350.00	
14–Publishing	32,001.91		1,600.00	1,600.00	
17–Salisbury	104,348.39	100.00	5,081.09	5,153.43	$27.66

Fund Title	Principal	Balance 1919	Income 1919	Expended 1919	Balance
18–Tenney	5,000.00		250.00	250.00	
19–B. F. Thomas	1,000.00		50.00	50.00	
22–Special Gifts	422.82		20.00	20.00	
23–F. W. Haven	2,000.00		100.00	100.00	
24–Purchasing	108.53		5.00	5.00	
25–Chas. F. Washburn	5,000.00		250.00	250.00	
26–Centennial	35,706.58	355.70	1,758.00	2,113.70	
27–Eliza D. Dodge	3,000.00		150.00	150.00	
28–Hunnewell	5,000.00		250.00	250.00	
29–Jas. Lyman Whitney	579.33		26.00	26.00	
30–Samuel A. Green	5,000.00		250.00	250.00	
67–Andrew McF. Davis	6,240.00		240.00	240.00	
68–Building Fund	5,567.00		67.00	67.00	

Statement of Investments

Bonds

Name	Rate	Maturity	Par Val.	Book Val.
Public Funds:				
Cuyahoga County, Ohio	5	Oct., 1922	$3,000	3,151.00
Duluth, Minn.	4	April, 1936	2,000	1,940.00
Memphis, Tenn.	4	May, 1933	5,000	4,887.00
New York, N. Y.	4½	May, 1957	20,000	20,000.00
Omaha, Neb.	4½	Mar. 1928	15,000	15,000.00
San Francisco, Cal.	4½	July, 1948	5,000	4,914.00
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland	5½	Feb., 1937	3,000	2,928.75
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland	5½	Aug., 1929	10,000	9,625.00
United States of America	4¼	May, 1942	3,000	3,000.00
United States of America	4¼	Oct., 1938	30,000	28,198.41
Swiss Confederation	8	July, 1940	4,000	3,990.00
Toronto Harbour Commissioners	4½	Sept., 1953	16,000	13,550.40
				$111,184.56
Railroads:				
Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fé	4	May, 1995	2,000	1,540.00
Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fé	4	May, 1995	1,000	885.00
Baltimore & Ohio	3½	July, 1925	5,000	4,637.00
Boston Elevated	4	May, 1935	2,000	2,000.00
Boston Elevated	4½	April, 1937	8,000	7,960.00

Boston & Maine	3½	Feb.,	1925	5,000	4,593.00	
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy	4	July,	1949	5,000	5,000.00	
Chicago & Eastern Illinois	5	Nov.,	1937	4,000	4,000.00	
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul	4½	June,	1932	2,000	1,932.50	
Chicago, Indiana & Southern	4	Jan.,	1956	12,000	10,920.00	
Chicago & Northwestern	4	Aug.,	1926	1,000	945.00	
Fitchburg	3½	Oct.,	1921	10,000	9,300.00	
Illinois Central	3½	July,	1952	2,000	2,000.00	
Illinois Central	5	Dec.,	1963	2,000	2,010.00	
Lake Shore & Michigan Southern	4	May,	1931	5,000	4,621.00	
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill	5	June,	1923	7,000	6,570.00	
Marlboro & Westboro	5	July,	1921	1,000	1,000.00	
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford	4	May,	1954	10,000	10,000.00	
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford	3½	Jan.,	1956	50	50.00	
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford	6	Jan.,	1948	2,200	2,189.00	
Old Colony	4	Jan.,	1938	3,000	2,970.00	
Pere Marquette	4	July,	1956	5,000	4,500.00	
Pere Marquette	5	July,	1956	500	500.00	
Southern Indiana	4	Feb.,	1951	2,000	2,000.00	
Union Pacific	4	July,	1927	500	450.00	
Wilkesbarre & Eastern	5	June	1942	2,000	2,000.00	
						94,572.50

Miscellaneous Bonds:

Amer. Tel. & Tel. Co.	4	July,	1929	11,000	11,000.00	
Bell Telephone Co. of Canada	7	April,	1925	3,000	2,940.00	
Bethlehem Steel Co.	5	Jan.,	1926	2,000	2,005.00	
Business Real Estate Trust	4	June,	1921	2,000	1,915.00	
Congress Hotel Co.	6	Feb.,	1933	5,000	5,000.00	
Consumers Power Co.	5	Jan.,	1936	6,000	5,335.00	
Danville Champaign & Decatur Ry. & Light Co.	5	Mar.,	1938	5,000	4,000.00	
Detroit Edison Co.	5	Jan.,	1933	5,000	4,925.00	
Detroit Edison Co.	5	July,	1940	5,000	4,800.00	
Duquesne Light Co.	6	July,	1949	1,000	850.00	
Ellicott Square Co.	5	Mar.,	1935	5,000	5,000.00	
Michigan State Tel Co.	5	Feb.,	1924	3,000	2,996.00	
Northern States Power Co.	5	April,	1941	$5,000	$4,300.00	
Seattle Electric Co.	5	Aug.,	1929	5,000	5,000.00	
So. Cal. Edison Co.	5	Nov.,	1939	1,000	920.00	

Southern Power Co.....5	Mar., 1930	5,000	4,775.00	
Terre Haute Trac. Lt. & Power Co.....5	May, 1944	2,000	2,000.00	
United States Rubber Co...5	Jan., 1947	2,000	1,743.75	
Western Electric Co.....5	Dec., 1922	5,000	5,056.00	
				$74,560.75
				$280,317.81

Shares — Stocks	Par Value	Book Value	
24 American Tel & Tel. Co.....	$2,400	$2,353.50	
11 Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. (Pref)	1,100	687.00	
3 Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co. (Pref.).....	300	210.00	
6 Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co. (Com.).....	600	420.00	
6 Fitchburg Bank & Trust Co.....	600	600.00	
50 Boston & Maine (Pref.).....	5,000	5,000.00	
35 Mass. Gas Light Cos. (Pref.).....	3,500	2,900.00	
68 N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. Co.....	6,800	8,450.00	
30 Northern R. R. (N. H.).....	3,000	3,000.00	
11 Old South Building Trust (Pref.).....	1,100	981.00	
30 Union Pacific R. R. (Com.).....	3,000	3,000.00	
16 Webster & Atlas National Bank.....	1,600	1,800.00	
25 West End St. Ry. Co. (Pref.).....	1,250	1,250.00	
14 Worcester Gas Light Co.....	1,400	2,000.00	
31 Worcester Bank & Trust Co.....	3,100	2,914.00	
30 Norton Co. (Pref.).....	3,000	3,000.00	
			$38,565.50

Mortgage Loans

J. Burwick.....	2,100.00	
L. L. Mellen.....	1,500.00	
J. P. Sexton, Trustee.....	8,000.00	
	$11,600.00	

Bank Deposits

Deposit in Worcester Bank & Trust Co., Interest Department.....	$1,000.00

Real Estate

Library Building with land.....	$195,256.30

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, beg leave to state that the books and accounts of the Treasurer, for the year ending September 30, 1920, have been examined by Elmer A. MacGowan, Accountant, and his certificate that they are correct is herewith submitted.

The Auditors further report that they have personally examined the securities held by the Treasurer and find the same to be as stated by him and the balance of cash on hand duly accounted for.

(Signed) BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,
HOMER GAGE, *Auditors.*

October 1, 1920.

WORCESTER, MASS., October 1, 1920.

I hereby certify that I have examined the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society, made up for the year ending September 30, 1920, and find same to be correct.

(Signed) ELMER A. MACGOWAN,
Accountant.

CONTRIBUTORS OF $100 AND MORE TO THE SOCIETY'S INVESTED FUNDS

1832	Isaiah Thomas, Worcester (legacy)	$23,152
	Nathaniel Maccarty, Worcester (legacy)	500
1838	Edward D. Bangs, Worcester (legacy)	200
1840	William McFarland, Worcester (legacy)	500
1842	Christopher G. Champlin, Newport, R. I. (legacy)	100
1852	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester	5,000
1856	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester	5,000
1858	Nathan Appleton, Boston	100
	Isaac Davis, Worcester	200
	Edward Everett, Boston	100
	George Folsom, Worcester	100
	John Green, Worcester	100
	James Lenox, New York, N. Y.	250
	Levi Lincoln, Worcester	200
	Charles C. Little, Cambridge	100
	Pliny Merrick, Worcester	100
	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester	3,545
	P. Dexter Tiffany, Worcester	200
1867	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester	8,000
1868	William Thomas, Boston	500
	Benjamin F. Thomas, Boston	100
	Isaac Davis, Worcester	500
	Levi Lincoln, Worcester (legacy)	940
1869	Isaac Davis, Worcester	100
	Usher D. Parsons, Providence	100
	Nathaniel Thayer, Boston	500
1870	Isaac Davis, Worcester	100
	Ebenezer Torrey, Fitchburg	100
1871	Edward L. Davis, Worcester	100

1872	Miss Nancy Lincoln, Shrewsbury	300
	John P. Bigelow, Boston (legacy)	1,000
1874	Miss Nancy Lincoln, Shrewsbury (legacy)	200
	Ebenezer Alden, Randolph	100
1875	Isaac Davis, Worcester	400
1878	Isaac Davis, Worcester	400
1879	Benjamin F. Thomas, Beverly (legacy)	1,000
	Edward L. Davis, Worcester	500
1881	Joseph A. Tenney, Worcester (legacy)	5,000
	Ebenezer Alden, Randolph (legacy)	1,000
1882	Samuel F. Haven, Worcester (legacy)	1,000
1883	Robert C. Waterston, Boston	100
1884	George Chandler, Worcester	500
	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester (legacy)	10,000
1885	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester (legacy)	10,000
1886	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester	5,000
1887	Robert C. Waterston, Boston	100
1889	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester (legacy)	2,000
1891	Edward L. Davis, Worcester	5,000
1895	George E. Ellis, Charlestown (legacy)	10,000
1899	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester	5,000
1900	John C. B. Davis, Washington, D. C.	1,000
	Horace Davis, San Francisco, Calif.	1,000
	Andrew McF. Davis, Cambridge	1,000
1905	Andrew H. Green, New York, N. Y. (legacy)	4,840
1907	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester (legacy)	60,000
	Charles E. French, Boston (legacy)	1,000
1908	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester (legacy)	175,000
1909	Mrs. Frances W. Haven, Worcester (legacy)	2,000
1910	Charles G. Washburn, Worcester	5,000
	Mrs. Eliza D. Dodge, Worcester (legacy)	3,000
	James F. Hunnewell, Boston	5,000
	Andrew McF. Davis, Cambridge	1,000
	Edward L. Davis, Worcester	5,000
	Charles H. Davis, Worcester	2,000
	Austin P. Cristy, Worcester	100
	Henry W. Cunningham, Boston	1,000
	Henry A. Marsh, Worcester	100
	Simeon E. Baldwin, New Haven, Conn.	100
	Eugene F. Bliss, Cincinnati, O.	1,000
	A. George Bullock, Worcester	2,000
	William B. Weeden, Providence	500
	Charles L. Nichols, Worcester	2,500
	Samuel B. Woodward, Worcester	1,000
	Samuel Utley, Worcester	100
	Waldo Lincoln, Worcester	1,000
	Samuel S. Green, Worcester	1,000

	James L. Whitney, Cambridge (legacy)	490
1911	Austin S. Garver, Worcester	100
	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester	2,500
	Thomas Willing Balch, Philadelphia, Pa.	100
	William Lawrence, Boston	100
	Charles P. Bowditch, Boston	150
	Samuel A. Green, Boston	100
1912	James P. Baxter, Portland, Me.	100
	Franklin B. Dexter, New Haven, Conn.	100
	Justin H. Smith, Boston	100
	Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Worcester	200
	Samuel V. Hoffman, New York, N. Y.	5,000
	Clarence M. Burton, Detroit, Mich.	100
	Henry H. Edes, Boston	250
	Mrs. Deloraine P. Corey, Malden	500
1913	Albert H. Whitin, Whitinsville	1,000
1913	Daniel Merriam, Boston (legacy)	1,000
	Mrs. Deloraine P. Corey, Worcester (legacy)	500
	Miss Jane A. Taft, Worcester (legacy)	1,000
	Miss Katharine Allen, Worcester (legacy)	4,000
1916	Grenville H. Norcross, Boston	200
1917	Horace Davis, San Francisco, Cal. (legacy)	5,000
1919	Samuel A. Green, Boston (legacy)	5,000
1920	Andrew McF. Davis	6,000
	David H. Fanning	5,000
	Clarence W. Bowen	500
	Arthur P. Rugg	200
	Samuel L. Munson	1,000

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

THE number of accessions during the year past has measured up to the average of recent years, although this has been due to numerous gifts, rather than to purchase. Expressed in figures, the total is as follows:

Bound volumes	2638
Pamphlets	5009
Maps, prints and mss.	757
Unbound Newspapers	2186

A continuous source of additions to the Library has been the steady gifts of literary material from certain members, who send us periodically the accumulations of books and pamphlets which they acquire. From Chief Justice Rugg, Charles H. Taylor, Jr., Charles G. Washburn and Henry W. Cunningham, we have received a great deal of ephemeral material, which when sorted and arranged adds much of value to our files. From the President, Mr. Lincoln, the library has obtained a number of much needed works of local history and genealogy. Through purchase and gift, nearly four hundred genealogies have been added to our collection. The most valuable genealogy acquired is the three volume set of "The Stokes Record," by Anson Phelps Stokes, and presented by a member of the Society, Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes. Other valuable works obtained are V. L. Oliver's "History of the Island of Antigua," presented by Mrs. Waldo Lincoln, and the much needed set of Murray's "New English Dictionary," purchased from the Haven Fund.

From the estate of Dr. Samuel Abbott Green was received late in 1919, as the Society's share according to his will, a large consignment of historical books and

pamphlets, and a number of rare early New England imprints. Among the latter was a discourse by Samuel Phillips, entitled "A Word in Season," delivered at Byfield, September 8, 1726, and printed at Boston in 1727, and including in the foot-notes an account of the author's ancestry and various references to ecclesiastical affairs in New England. Other titles worthy of note are one of the earliest known American reprints of a work by John Bunyan, with the brimstone title of "Sighs from Hell: or, the Groans of a Damned Soul," Boston, 1708; and "Diverting Historys," Boston, 1733. The latter seems to be a hitherto unknown volume and has an interesting wood-cut frontispiece, an example of early Boston engraving. Altogether the Society received from Dr. Green 225 books and 209 pamphlets.

A rare book obtained during the year is entitled "The Young Secretary's Guide: or, a Speedy Help to Learning" by Thomas Hill, Gentleman, Boston, 1718. This was the fifth edition, reprinted by John Allen, for Nicholas Buttolph. It was intended as a guide for writing letters, for proper capitalization and punctuation, and for the preparation of deeds, wills and other legal documents, and containing tables of interest and a short dictionary of difficult words. It was a popular book in England, having frequently been printed in London toward the close of the seventeenth century. The earliest English edition in the British Museum is that of 1696, but this and the subsequent editions are ascribed to John Hill. Neither the John Hill of the English editions nor the Thomas Hill of the American editions are included in the Dictionary of National Biography. The Boston editions were especially prepared for the people of New England and included a list of the counties and towns of Massachusetts and many references to New England affairs.

This makes the fourth of these early editions obtained by the Society in the past half a dozen years.

The 1713 edition contains a preface written by the printer in which he states: "As for my own part, thus much I can say in its Praise, That a more useful Book on this Subject never came to my Hands; so that it is needless to trouble you with a long and tedious Epistle in its Favour, it having sufficiently Recommended itself to the World already, by the Sale of three large Impressions, all of which were Sold in a short Time, and were found too few to furnish this large and daily increasing Country; which has of late occasioned very sad Complaints for want of so useful and necessary a Companion. This, and a desire to serve the Publick, has encouraged the Booksellers to present the World with a fourth impression of it." This preface was signed by T. F., evidently the initials of Thomas Fleet. The other editions obtained by the Society are the fourth, printed by T. Fleet for Samuel Gerrish, 1713; the sixth, reprinted for Nicholas Boone, 1727, in which the preface, although the same wording as previously, is signed by J. A., undoubtedly John Allen; and the seventh edition, printed by T. Fleet, 1730. The rarity of these early editions is indicated by the fact that in Evans' "American Bibliography" no copies are located, and no mention is made of the name of Thomas Hill on the title-page of the issues previous to 1730. I have located the following copies: 1703, 3rd edition, preface signed by T. G. (Timothy Green), in the Mass. Historical Society and Boston Public Library; 1713, 4th edition, in the American Antiquarian Society and Library of Congress; 1717, 4th edition in the Mass. Historical Society; 1718, 5th edition, in the American Antiquarian Society and the Mass. Historial Society; 1727, 6th edition in the American Antiquarian Soiety and Harvard; and 1730, 7th edition in the American Antiquarrian Society, Harvard and Boston Public Library. In the Boston Public Library, the book is catalogued under "John Hill (Thomas Hill, misprint for John Hill.)"

To the almanac collection, over two hundred new issues have been added. Of these by far the most rare is a file of "The Kentucky Almanac," printed by John Bradford, at Lexington, Kentucky, from 1794 to 1808. Most of these issues are the first so far discovered. In fact, the Durrett collection of Kentucky material, now at the University of Chicago, has none of the eighteenth century almanacs, nor does the Library of Congress Checklist of American Almanacs previous to 1800 list anything under Kentucky. As almanacs go, they are more entertaining than the average, because of the numerous contributions of doggerel poetry. Two other almanacs of value are Jacob Taylor's almanac for 1744, printed at Philadelphia, obtained from Mr. Samuel L. Munson; and "Weatherwise's Almanack" for 1787, printed at Portland by Thomas B. Wait. As the first almanac printed in Maine, this latter issue has long been desired for our collection. The printer states in his newspaper, the "Cumberland Gazette," that this is "The very first almanack ever calculated for the meridian of Portland," but unlike most other almanac publishers, he does not indulge in a long preface. His only comment is as follows: "A Preface, reader, you shall not have. If the merit of this almanack will not support it, let it fall. If shall not be Preface-propt. We hate a Preface as we do a Snake—and the Writers of them, as we do the Father of Lies." The only other copies known of this issue are in the Library of Congress and in Longfellow House, at Portland, in a file of almanacs containing the diaries of Stephen Longfellow, the father of the poet.

While on the subject of almanacs, the attention of members should be called to the "List of New York Almanacs, 1694-1850," published by Alexander J. Wall, assistant librarian of the New York Historical Society in the Bulletin of the New York Public Library. The making of this bibliography was suggested to Mr. Wall by us as a companion check-list

to the list of the almanacs of several of the New England States published in our Proceedings, and the trustees of the New York Public Library are to be commended for their generosity in printing it in their Bulletin. Our own interest in its publication is shown by the fact that we have nearly half of the two thousand almanacs listed—incidentally a larger collection than that of any other library. Mr. Wall's work can well serve as a model for the checklists of other States, so that we can finally have an adequate bibliography of all American almanacs previous to 1850.

A bibliography in which the Society is also interested is the "Census of Fifteenth Century Books owned in America," 1919, compiled by a committee of the Bibliographical Society of America, but edited primarily by Mr. George Parker Winship. This census covers 169 public and 246 private collections, and lists 13,200 copies of 6,640 titles. When it is considered that only slightly over 25,000 titles of books are known to have been printed in the fifteenth century, it can readily be seen that a fair share of the incunabula found in Europe within recent years has found its way across the seas to America. This Society has but twenty-five examples of fifteenth century books, but because of the importance to us of the history of printing, and because of the strength of our library in typography, due chiefly to the foundation gifts of Isaiah Thomas and to the C. H. Taylor collection, it is a subject in which we are greatly interested.

Fewer newspaper files have been acquired than has usually been the case in recent years, chiefly due to the fact that fewer opportunities of acquisition have been offered. The number of accessions total 321 bound volumes and 1100 miscellaneous issues. To Mr. Albert C. Bates, of Hartford, we are indebted for a large collection of New England papers published

about the middle of the last century. Among the longer files acquired may be noted the following:

Bellows Falls Gazette, 1840-1851.
Bennington, Vermont Gazette, 1818-1820, 1827-1828.
Boston, American Union, 1850-1857.
Lenox, Bershire Herald, 1832.
Hartford, American Mercury, 1824-1833.
N. E. Weekly Review, 1841-1843.
Patriot and Democrat, 1837-1841.
New York, Christian Advocate, 1827-1854.
Spectator, 1818, 1826.
Sunday Mercury, 1860.
Tribune, 1896-1912.
Weekly Sun, 1847-1848.
Philadelphia, Neal's Saturday Gazette, 1844-1848.
Saturday Museum, 1844.

The most valuable file acquired, and one of the most important acquisitions made by the Society in recent years, is a set of the London Gazette, from the date of the first issue, Nov. 14, 1665, through the year 1796. This paper, the oldest in the English speaking world, was started at Oxford with the title of the Oxford Gazette. On February 5, 1666 it was removed to London where it was called the London Gazette and where it has been continued uninterruptedly to the present day. Up to the time of the Revolution, and especially previous to 1704, the year of the first Boston newspaper, it is an important and in many cases the sole source of information for material relating to the American colonies. During the Revolution, it is of course also of value in presenting the English side of the conflict. There has been quite frequent call for this newspaper for the Colonial period, and we are fortunate in having been able to secure so remarkable a file extending over 130 years.

A few small collections of manuscripts have been presented, among them the papers of Rev. Joseph Goffe, pastor of the First Congregational Church at Millbury from 1794 to 1830, the gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Goffe Peirce of Millbury. These include ancestral papers of the Goffe family and the Clough family of

Boston of about 1750, but the most interesting documents are a series of letters from Joseph and Eliza Goffe written from Georgia and Alabama, and describing to some extent the appearance of Savannah, Charleston and other Southern towns; and a Journal of a trip to Illinois and the Western country made in 1830 to find a suitable place for a colony of Easterners to settle. Starting from Buffalo, the diarist visited Cleveland, Detroit, Clinton, Niles, Chicago, Jacksonville and Springfield, and returned through Danville, Lafayette, Logansport, Fort Wayne, Sandusky, Elyria, Erie and Buffalo, and thence by boat to Albany. The description of towns and of social conditions in the early West might possibly make this Journal worth printing.

Other manuscripts received include some correspondence of Abijah Bigelow of Worcester, presented by Mr. D. Berkeley Updike of Boston, and "The Appraisal of the Armes & Accontrement of Col. Learned's Reg't at the end of the Campaign, 1775," given by Mr. Artemas Ward of New York. The Society has also obtained an interesting manuscript of the country around New York City during the campaign of 1776. It was drawn by Alexander Scammell, for his friend Gen. John Sullivan, and is inscribed "To the Honble John Sullivan, Esqr, Major Genl in the army of the United States of America, humbly presented by his Obed^{t} Servt Alexd^{r} Scammell." It is a general plan of the topography north of East River and the Sound, as far east as Byram River, and locates the towns, roads and some of the redoubts, forts and positions. On the back General Sullivan has written to Col. Hugh Hughes:

Sir:

Please Send me some Hay & Oats to Williams, as I am Intirely Destitute, also a Waggon for the use of myself & Division.

October 19th, 1776 Yr Humble Servt,
Mr. Huse, Asst. Q. M. G. Jno Sullivan

The collection of portraits has received two excellent additions from Mr. Clarence W. Bowen, the portraits of Theophilus Chandler and his wife, painted by Winthrop Chandler. Mr. Bowen found these portraits in the old Chandler House on Chandler Hill in Thompson, Conn., and had them carefully restored before presenting them to the Society. Theophilus Chandler was a surveyor, residing in Petersham, Mass., and Thompson, Conn., was born 1732 and died 1816, and was the brother of Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler. His wife, Elizabeth Frink Chandler, was the daughter of Rev. Thomas Frink, and died in 1771. Winthrop Chandler, the artist, was the brother of Theophilus and was born in 1747. He is said to have studied the art of portrait painting in Boston, and painted several portraits about the time of the Revolution. His own portrait by himself is now owned by one of his descendants.

The most valued addition to the bookplate collection is an almost complete set of signed proofs of E. D. French's plates, gathered by the late John Page Woodbury, and presented to this Society by his son, Mr. John Woodbury. These proofs will be kept as one collection, and will add greatly to the strength of our collection of the designs of America's foremost bookplate engraver. A few Mexican plates have been obtained from one of our foreign members, Nicolás Léon, of Mexico City. In 1919 a book of interest to us was published, with the title of "A List of Canadian Bookplates," compiled by Winward Prescott, with the assistance of Stanley Harrod and Morely J. Ayearst. This volume lists about 1700 plates, of which we have about one third, together with 180 plates not included in the list. Our excellent showing is largely due to the generosity of one of the authors of the work, Mr. Stanley Harrod, of Toronto, who has presented to the Society, through Mr. Lombard, his own personal collection of Canadian plates. In this way, we obtained 568 additions to our Canadian

collection. The great Marshall collection of American bookplates is still undergoing a process of arranging and comparison with our own collection, and it will be several weeks yet before this time-consuming task is finished.

The greatest drawback to the successful growth of the library, and to the accessibility of its possessions, is the lack of shelf-room. The stack, planned to take care of the increase of fifteen years, was nearly filled with unlooked-for acquisitions in less than six years. Only by continual reshifting of the material on the shelves and by the temporary storage of bulky newspapers in the basement can we find room for our fast increasing accessions. We cannot stop collecting. We must continue to take advantage of our opportunities, and pray for the relief which will eventually come.

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,
Librarian.

Donors

INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIETIES

Abbot Academy.
Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.
Academy of Science of St. Louis.
Alabama Historical Society.
Alliance Française.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
American Association for International Conciliation.
American Association of Journalism.
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
American Catholic Historical Society.
American Geographical Society.
American Historical Association.
American Irish Historical Society.
American Jewish Historical Society.
American Library Association.
American Numismatic Society.
American Oriental Society.
American Philosophical Society.
Amherst Record.
American Seaman's Friend Society.
American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes.
American Steel and Wire Co.
American Type Founders Company.
Andover Theological Seminary.
Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal.
Australian Museum.
Baltimore American.
Bank of the Manhattan Company.
Barre Gazette
Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.
Boston, City of.
Boston Cemetery Department.
Boston City Hospital.
Boston Co-operative Information Bureau.
Boston Globe.
Boston Health Department.

Boston Legal Aid Society.
Boston Museum of Fine Arts.
Boston Port and Seamen's Aid Society.
Boston Public Library.
Boston Transcript.
Boston Transit Commission.
Boston University.
Bostonian Society.
Bowdoin College.
Bridgeport Brass Company.
Brockton Public Library.
Brookline Public Library.
Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.
Brooklyn Public Library.
Brown University.
Buffalo Historical Society.
Buffalo Public Library.
Bulletin of Bibliography.
Bunker Hill Monument Association.
Bureau of Railway Economics.
Business Digest.
California, Society of Colonial Wars.
California State Library.
California, University of.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
Canada, Department of Mines.
Canada, Dominion Archivist.
Carnegie Endowmwnt for International Peace.
Carnegie Institution of Washington.
Catholic Historical Review.
Catholic Messenger.
Catholic University of America.
Chicago Historical Society.
Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.
Chicago, University of.
Christian Science Monitor.
Church Militant.
Clark University.
Colgate University.
Collector.
Colonial Society of Massachusetts.
Colorado College.
Colorado, University of.
Columbia Historical Society.
Columbia University.
Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Connecticut, Diocese of.
Connecticut Historical Society.
Connecticut State Library.
Connecticut Valley Historical Society.
Cornell University.
Dartmouth College Library.
Daughters of the Cincinnati.
Diocese of Western Massachusetts.
Drew Allis Co.
Enoch Pratt Free Library.
Essex Institute.
Fairmount Park Art Association.
Field Museum of Natural History.
Fitchburg, City of.
Fitchburg Public Library.
Fitchburg Sentinel.
Forbes Library.
Frye Publishing Company
Genealogy.
General Education Board.
Georgia Historical Society.
Georgia State Library.
Grolier Club.
Groton Historical Society.
Groton Landmark.
Guaranty Trust Company of New York.
Hartford, Automobile Club of.
Hartford Courant.
Hartford Seminary.
Hartford Theological Seminary.
Harvard Alumni.
Harvard College.
Harvard University.
Haverhill Public Library.
Helena Public Library.
Hervas Laboratories of American Linguistics.
Heye Museum.
Hispanic Society of America.
Holy Cross College.
Iconographic Society.
Illinois Centennial Commission.
Illinois State Historical Library.
Illinois State Historical Society.
Illinois, University of.
International Typographical Union.
Iowa, Historical Department of.

Iowa, State Historical Society of.
Irish National Bureau.
Jacksonville Public Library.
Jamaica, Institute of.
Japan Society.
Jersey City, Free Public Library.
John Carter Brown Library.
John Crerar Library.
Johns Hopkins University.
Journal of Zoöphily.
Kansas City Star.
Kansas State Historical Society.
Lake Mohonk Conference.
Landlord and Tenant.
La Plata, Universidad Nacional de.
Leominster Public Library.
Lewiston Journal.
Library of Congress.
London, Corporation of.
Long Island Historical Society.
Longmans, Green & Co.
L'Opinion Publique.
Los Angeles Public Library.
Louisiana Historical Society.
Louisiana State Museum.
Louisville Free Public Library.
Magazine of History.
Maine Historical Society.
Maine State Library.
Maryland Historical Society.
Massachusetts, Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of.
Massachusetts, Commonwealth of.
Massachusetts, Free and Accepted Masons.
Massachusetts General Hospital.
Massachusetts Historical Society.
Massachusetts Library Club.
Massachusetts, Secretary of State.
Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants.
Massachusetts State Department of Health.
Massachusetts State Library.
Massachusetts State Normal School, Worcester.
Massachusetts Woman's Relief Corps.
Merchants National Bank, Worcester.
Mergenthaler Linotype Company.
Messenger Printing and Publishing Company.
Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Metropolitan Water and Sewerage Board.
Mexico, Museo Nacional.
Miami University.
Michigan Historical Commission.
Military Service Institution.
Milton Historical Society.
Minnesota Historical Society.
Minnesota, University of.
Mississippi Department of Archives.
Mississippi Valley Historical Association.
Missouri Historical Society.
Missouri, State Historical Society of.
Montague Press.
Montana News Bulletin.
Montana, University of.
Montreal Herald.
Munition Resources Commission.
Nation, The.
National Association for Constitutional Government.
National Child Labor Committee.
National Education Association of U. S.
National Genealogical Society.
National Home Rule Association.
National Society of Sons of American Revolution.
Naval History Society.
Nebraska State Historical Society.
Nebraska, University of.
New Brunswick Historical Society.
New England Historic Genealogical Society.
New England Society of Brooklyn.
New Hampshire Historical Society.
New Hampshire State Library.
New Haven Colony Historical Society.
New Jersey Historical Society.
New Republic.
New York Academy of Sciences.
New York, Department of Education of City of.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.
New York Historical Society.
New York Hospital.
New York, National City Bank of.
New York Public Library.
New York Society Library.
New York, State Education Department.
New York State Historical Association.
New York State Library.

New York, Stock Exchange, Committee on Library.
New York Tribune.
New York, University of the State of.
Newberry Library.
Newport Historical Society.
Newport Mercury.
North Carolina Historical Commission.
North Carolina, University of.
North Dakota, State Historical Society of.
North Dakota, University of.
Northwestern University.
Nova Scotia Historical Society.
Nova Scotia Institute of Science.
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia.
Oakland Free Library.
Oberlin College.
Ohio, Historical and Philosophical Society of.
Ohio, Industrial Commission of.
Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.
Oklahoma Historical Society.
Onondaga Historical Association.
Oregon Historical Society.
Oregon State Immigration Office.
Panama-Pacific International Exposition.
Pan-American Union.
Paris Chamber of Commerce.
Peabody Institute of Baltimore.
Peabody Museum of American Archaeology.
Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies.
Pennsylvania-German Society.
Pennsylvania, Historical Society of.
Pennsylvania Museum.
Pennsylvania Society.
Pennsylvania State Library.
Pennsylvania, University of.
Philadelphia, Library Company of.
Philadelphia Public Ledger.
Philadelphia Rotary Club.
Philippine Press Bureau.
Portland Chamber of Commerce.
Pratt Institute Free Library.
Presbyterian Historical Society.
Providence Athenaeum.
Providence, City of.
Providence Journal.
Providence Public Library.

Public Libraries.
Publishers' Weekly.
Quebec, Literary and Historical Society of.
Queen's University.
Reorganised Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.
Republican National Committee.
Reynolds Family Association.
Rhode Island Historical Society.
Rhode Island State Library.
Riverside Public Library.
Rosenberg Library.
Royal Academy of Literature, History and Antiquities of Stockholm.
Royal Canadian Institute.
Royal Colonial Institute.
Royal Historical Society.
Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
Royal Society of Canada.
Royal Zoölogical Society of New South Wales.
St. Louis Mercantile Library Association.
St. Louis Public Library.
School Arts Magazine.
Scituate Historical Society.
Shedd Family Association.
Skandinavia.
Smith College.
Smithsonian Institution.
Social Law Library.
Société des Américanistes de Paris.
Société de Geographie de Paris.
Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.
Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.
Society of Antiquaries of London.
Society of Pennsylvania Women in New York.
Society of the Army of the Potomac.
Somerset Co. Historical Quarterly.
South Carolina, Historical Commission of.
South Carolina Historical Society.
Southwestern Historical Quarterly.
Sprague's Journal of Maine History.
Standard, The.
State Charities Aid Association.
Svea.
Tennessee Historical Magazine.
Texas State Historical Association.

Topsfield Historical Society.
Toronto, University of.
Trenton, Mechanics Bank.
Trinity College Historical Society.
Union Académique Internationale.
Union Pacific Railroad Company.
United Empire.
United States Brewers' Association.
United States Government.
Universidad Nacional de la Plata.
Universités Francaises aux Universités des Pays Neutres.
Vermont State Library.
Villager.
Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society.
Virginia Historical Society.
Virginia State Library.
Warren Academy of Sciences.
Washington University.
Washington University State Historical Society.
Wesleyan University.
Western Reserve Historical Society.
William Jewell College.
Williams College.
Wilson, H. W., Co.
Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters.
Wisconsin Library Commission.
Wisconsin, State Historical Society of.
Worcester Academy.
Worcester Art Museum.
Worcester Baptist Association.
Worcester Board of Health.
Worcester Chamber of Commerce.
Worcester, City of.
Worcester City Hospital.
Worcester County Law Library.
Worcester County Mechanics Association.
Worcester County Musical Association.
Worcester Fire Society.
Worcester Free Public Library.
Worcester Gazette.
Worcester Historical Society.
Worcester Polytechnic Institute.
Worcester, Public Education Association of.
Worcester Rotary Club.
Worcester, School Department of.
Worcester Telegram.

Worcester Woman's Club.
Worcester Young Women's Christian Association.
Wyoming Commemorative Association.
Yale College, Class of 1888 of.
Yale University.

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Kent, Daniel
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primal securities of constitutional government as understood and practiced in this country. The adoption of this principle in Massachusetts was a momentous if not an essential step in fixing the character of government in the colony as representative and deliberative rather than a pure democracy. Anything, therefore, pertaining to this litigation possesses historical value.

The original sources of information concerning this law suit are first and chiefly the History of New England by John Winthrop, and then the records of the court of assistants, the Records of Massachusetts Colony, The Colony Archives, The General History of New England by the Rev. William Hubbard, minister of the church at Ipswich, and the History of Massachusetts Bay by Gov. Thomas Hutchinson. Hubbard was not a participant in the proceedings so far as known. But he was a contemporary, being one of the first class of graduates of Harvard College in 1642, and he writes apparently out of independent knowledge. Although Hutchinson wrote something over a hundred years later, his intimate familiarity with the sources of colonial history and his insight into the character of our early institutions almost give the weight of first-hand information to his observations on this subject. Excerpts from the original sources, complete as to this matter, are added to this paper as appendices. The subject has received much attention from other writers, but so far as I have been able to discover there are no other sources of information touching the facts. By far the most detailed account and fullest discussion of the case is given by Winthrop. Several pages of his history are devoted to it.

The proposed publication by the American Antiquarian Society of one of its manuscript possessions calls attention anew to this ancient action at law. This manuscript is entitled, "A breaviate of ye Case betwene Richard Sheareman plt by petition & Capt. Robert Keaine defen^tt aboute ye title to a straye Sowe

supposed to be brought frõ Deare Iland about (9)ber 1636." It is nothing less than a summary of the case. It is dated "at Boston this 5, 15, 1642." It is said by Palfrey, in his History of New England, Vol. I, p. 619, note, to be "in Winthrop's handwriting, with his signature at the end." On the other hand, it is said by Robert C. Winthrop in Vol. 2 of the Life & Letters of John Winthrop, p. 283, "It is not in the handwriting of Governor Winthrop. We doubt whether even the signature is his; and certainly the spelling and abbreviations differ widely from those which he was accustomed to use. But it was unquestionably one of the manuscript copies prepared for circulation among the magistrates and people—that being the ordinary mode of *publishing* papers at that day." I will not undertake to settle this question of handwriting. It is quite sufficient for present purposes that there is no controversy as to the authenticity of the manuscript and that it was composed by Winthrop. Its genuineness as a Winthrop production and its historical value are beyond cavil. It consists of eight leaves or sheets of paper about 7⅞ inches by 6 inches, of which two are blank and six are closely written. It is of deep interest because of its author and its substance. Winthrop was a man of learning, of profound wisdom, of judicial temperament, and a writer of no mean capacity. He had personal knowledge of the matter. This manuscript is a complete and detailed history of the salient points of the case. It is divided into four parts:

1. A recital of the undisputed or agreed facts.
2. An abstract of the evidence produced on both sides at the trial before the General Court in 1642.
3. A discussion of the weight and probative effect of that evidence illustrated by reference to scripture.
4. A statement of the time consumed in the trial and of its indecisive result, with reference to a pertinent statute.

The legal training of Winthrop in the Middle Temple is manifest in the precision, perspicuity and logical

sequence of the document. This "breaviate" of the case was written that the justness of the position of the magistrates in deciding against the plaintiff might be made clear in order to overcome the "much laboring in the country upon a false supposition" as to their position. It was Winthrop's intention apparently to print the "breaviate" in his history. There it is said (Vol. 2, p. 72), "because there was much laboring in the country upon a false supposition, that the magistrate's negative voice stopped the plaintiff in the case of the sow", one of the magistrates published "a declaration of the necessity of upholding the same," (which doubtless refers to this manuscript); and it is added: "It may be inserted here, being brief." That intention was abandoned for this reason, I suspect: In the following year, as he narrates (Vol. 2, p. 117), it was found that this paper had given affront to some and he, desiring as governor to compose all occasions for dissension, made a speech as soon as he came into the General Court wherein, while not retracting, after re-examination, any of the matter therein set forth, he acknowledged his failings as to the manner thereof and "humbly entreated those who had been displeased to pardon and pass them by." After thus publicly declaring such penitence and showing such magnanimity toward those who had criticised him, he hardly could print the offending "breaviate."

This manuscript was mentioned first, so far as I know, by Palfrey, who refers to it in a note in volume 1 of his History of New England, page 619.

In view of its succinct narrative, further elaboration of the facts of the case would be superfluous since a copy of the manuscript itself and the other original sources of knowledge about the case, so far as I have been able to discover them, are to be printed herewith. It only need be added that the matter finally was adjusted probably by the remission by Capt. Keayne of his judgment for costs against Mrs. Sherman and a discharge by the Shermans of all controversies con-

cerning the sow. It has been suggested that the matter was submitted to General Gibbons and Colonel Tyng as referees, who are said to have "most sensibly permitted the thing to die of its own folly." (Vol. 1, History of the Ancient & Honorable Artillery Co. 14). Of the accuracy of this statement I have been unable to find confirmation from original sources.

A word may be said as to the parties. Whether Richard Sherman was in the colony during any part of this litigation, which appears to have been fomenting in some form or other from 1636 to 1644, is not certain. Without doubt he was absent for a substantial part of that time. In any event, the active prosecution of the claim seems to have fallen upon his wife, who was aided and encouraged by the energetic participation of one George Story. Since Winthrop says that he was unable to find any traces of this man save that he was a young English merchant who boarded with Mrs. Sherman, nothing further can be said of him. It is generally conceded that at this time the Shermans were poor in this world's goods. Apparently they were of good standing in the community because, under date of May 14, 1635, are found these entries in 2 Records of Massachusetts, 116-117: "It is ordred, yt ye Treasurer should pay 13⅓s to ye wife of Richrd Sherman, as a gratuity for her care & paines yes Cort about or dyet, and a noble to ye othr helpers in the house." "It is ordered, yt Richrd Sherman should be alowed 19s for lodging 3 of ye deputies & ye Govrns men." It is hardly likely that the members of the General Court in that day would have diet and lodging with any except those who held the respect and esteem of their townsfolk. This entry is interesting also as bearing some indication of acquaintance on the part of the Shermans with members of the General Court. Richard Sherman's will was dated July 31, 1660, wherein he mentions five daughters and no sons. His daughter Abigail married a man named John Damon. Damon came to this country in 1633. One of their descendants was Rev. Samuel C. Damon, born in

Holden, Mass., and graduated at Amherst College in the class of 1836. He studied theology at Princeton and Andover and was a missionary at Honolulu where he also was chaplain of the Seaman's Friend Society.

Robert Keayne, after having been a member of the Honorable Artillery Company, of London, came to America in 1635. He is said to have been the founder of the Ancient & Honorable Artillery Company of Boston. His name is first on the roll of members, and in the charter, and he was its first commander. He was also a deputy for several terms and speaker of the House in 1646. He was punctilious in attendance upon religious services and industrious in taking notes of sermons. Being shrewd in business matters, he soon was regarded as sharp at a bargain and was publicly rebuked for his offenses of covetousness. A fine of 200 pounds, ultimately remitted to 80 pounds, was imposed on him for extortionate charges. Doubtless he would be called either a leading merchant or a profiteer, according to the point of view. Keayne died in 1655. He left a will, which is probably the longest on the records of Suffolk County, comprising one hundred fifty-eight of its original pages and one hundred forty-two pages in a recopied record. His benefactions were catholic in extent and generous in nature and include legacies to Boston for a market house, and a free school, to Harvard College, to the Ancient & Honorable Artillery Company and for other good causes. Drake says of him in the History of Boston, p. 246, 247: "From all that can be learned of Captain Keayne it does not appear that he was a bad man, but that on the contrary he was a very good man; yet he was one of that peculiar mind and temperament, which rather invited than repelled the insults from a class common in all communities. He was deeply religious, but, like nearly all men who buy and sell, his interest in his business was so strong, that he could not well help losing sight of his scruples at times. But when abstracted from his business he

relented and condemned himself. He appears to have been of a forgiving disposition, and more ready to receive an injury than to give one, and could be oppressed with impunity."

It is manifest from Winthrop's account that the merits of the cause were plainly in favor of Captain Keayne. That is clear from his statement of the facts and the evidence. This is strongly confirmed by three facts: (1) that the elders, upon a thorough investigation of the matter and after hearing the material witnesses, found in favor of Keayne, (2) that the jury in the court at Boston, in a direct action by Sherman for the conversion of the pig, found also in Keayne's favor, and (3) that in an action brought in court by Keayne against Mrs. Sherman and Story for slanderously reporting that he had stolen her sow, a jury again returned a verdict in favor of Keayne and assessed damages in his behalf in the sum of twenty pounds. These three successive findings all one way, separated by considerable intervals of time, two of them being verdicts by a jury, afford rational ground for the inference, indeed almost indubitable proof to the effect, that Winthrop and the magistrates were right in their stand against Sherman and in favor of Keayne on the merits of the case. That aspect of the case would seem to be set at rest by this "breviate" and the other documents to be published herewith. However, in a popular contest in which such a woman as Mrs. Sherman, sufficiently good cook to satisfy the members of the general court in their diet, a housekeeper of such merit that they were content to lodge under her roof, was pitted against the sharp trader with a reputation for hard dealing, the advantage naturally would be with the representative of the fair sex. Even so good a soldier as Captain Keayne would be pretty apt to ride to his fall in any controversy with such a suitress for popular sympathy. It therefore is not surprising that after the matter had been talked over by the people at large without the evidence before them, the trend of public feeling should be with Mrs. Sher-

man, and that this should be reflected in the attitude of the deputies on the subject. When, however, it was sought by the deputies by sheer force of numbers to out-vote the magistrates or assistants and thus reach a decision in favor of Sherman, a delicate and fundamental principle in government was reached transcending in significance the decision of any controversy between parties over their private rights, important as that always is. There the statesmen of the colony practically without exception were on one side. This question whether, in matters brought before the General Court, the assistants or magistrates and the deputies acted or had the right to act as separate bodies, the approving vote of each body being essential for affirmative action, had been under discussion for some time. The phrase by which reference commonly is made to it is "The Negative Voyce" or "The Negative Vote." Since the deputies constituted the more numerous body and therefore would have greater power in joint session, the term was used as indicating the negative of the assistants or magistrates upon measures receiving the approval of the deputies. Although the charter gave important powers to the governor, deputy governor and assistants, no difficulty on this point seems to have developed so long as the body of freemen met together with the assistants constituting the General Court. Up to 1634 the government of the colony had been almost that of a pure democracy. The General Court was composed of both the assistants or magistrates and all the freemen. The inconvenience and even danger of this soon became manifest. As the settlements were more and more scattered, they were exposed to the hazard of Indian attack and the other manifold perils of pioneer times if all the freemen left at one time for attendance on the General Court. Moreover, the loss of time in travel and attendance was no inconsiderable factor. Therefore, on May 14, 1634, an order was passed by the General Court that there should be four sessions yearly to be summoned by the governor and not to be

dissolved without the consent of the major part of the court. On the same day provision was made for a representative body of deputies in place of the gathering of freemen at large in the General Court. The order was that two or three deputies might be chosen from each town. [2 Records of Massachusetts, 118]. On March 4, 1635, the nature of the deputies as a separate body was recognized by conferring upon them power to hear and decide disputes as to the election of their members, and "to order things amongst themselves that may concerne the well ordering of their body." [1 Records of Massachusetts, 142.] This was in effect the establishment of the house of deputies as an independent body free at least in these particulars from interference by the magistrates or assistants. In 1634-35 a controversy arose whether Mr. Hooker and his friends should be granted permission by the General Court to leave for a settlement in Connecticut. A majority of the deputies, so great as to constitute a majority of the General Court in joint session of both the assistants or magistrates and the deputies, were for the removal, although all the assistants save two were against it. The deputies contended that a majority of the whole body should prevail while the assistants refused to recede from their stand that a majority of both the deputies and the assistants was necessary. This was the beginning of the controversy about the "negative voice" of the assistants. It was adjusted then by resort to a day of humiliation and prayer and a sermon by Mr. Cotton. After this the assistants prevailed. A short time later the substance of the matter was settled by a statute. On March 3, 1636, the number of annual sessions of the General Court was reduced to two, and it further was provided:

"And whereas it may fall out that in some of theis Genall Courts, to be holden by the magistrates & deputies, there may arise some difference of iudgem^t in doubtfull cases, it is therefore ordered, that noe lawe, order, or sentence shall passe as an act of the Court, without the consent of the great^r p̃te of the magistrates on the one p̃te, & the great^r number of the

deputyes on the other p̃te; & for want of such accorde, the cause or order shalbe suspended, & if either ptie thinke it soe materiall, there shalbe forthwith a comittee chosen, the one halfe by the magistrates & the other halfe by the deputyes, & the comittē soe chosen to elect an umpire, whoe togeather shall have power to heare & determin the cause in question."[1]

It is to be observed that the concluding words of this act, which provide for a committee of conference and the choice of an umpire, refer in terms only to "cause or order" and the only thing which they have power to "heare & determin" is "the cause in question." These words both in their common meaning and in their strict signification refer to something in the nature of a suit or litigation. No mention is made in this connection of a "lawe" as to which in the earlier part of the statute current action of the greater part of the magistrates and the greater number of the deputies is required. Concerning legislation in the nature of enactment of laws, the absolute negation of one branch on action by the other seems thus to have been established. However, even if the concluding words of this statute are given a broader scope than is indicated by their natural significance and the committee of conference and umpire be thought to apply to every vote, it still is indubitable that this statute established the separation of the legislative department of the colony into two separate, distinct and independent bodies, whose concurrent affirmative vote was required to the enactment of laws. Notwithstanding this positive action, still the subject of the negative voice was much debated. It was a fundamental question in government. It would not easily down. It required full discussion in order that the public mind might be at rest. The litigation between Richard Sherman and Captain Keayne afforded good ground for renewal of the arguments. The dramatic incidents of the case challenged universal attention. The simplicity of the issue involved could be comprehended by everybody. Its relation to the principle of the

[1] [1 Records of Massachusetts, 170.]

"negative voice" was direct and immediate. There was much writing concerning the point after the first decision by the General Court in 1642. "The deputies were very earnest to have it taken away." One of the magistrates wrote "a small treatise" about it and another wrote an "answer." Thereupon Winthrop himself wrote "a reply". This paper alone survives of those written at the time. The original is now in the archives of the commonwealth and a copy is printed in 2 Life and Letters of John Winthrop, 427-438; see also 440-459. While the controversy was at its heat the General Court took this action, May 10, 1643:

"This Co^rt being to bee adiourned, it is desired, that ev^ry member of this Co^rt will use their best indeavo^r in the mean time to informe themselues & the Co^rt concerning the question about the negative vote, & to take advice from any therein; and it is ordered, y^t it shalbee no offence for any of them, or any other, either elder or other pson, who shall, either privately or in any lawfull assembly, deliver their minds soberly & peaceably therein, or to deliver the same in writing, in any modest or breife way, so it bee under their hand, & the elders to bee desired to give their advice in the case."[2]

Doubtless as a result of this action, an illuminating discussion of the negative voice was contributed by one of the elders. See Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, Jan. 1913, p. 276, et seq. The conclusion of the whole affair was that not only was the statute of March 4, 1635, establishing the negative voice not repealed but the matter was set at rest by the passage on March 7, 1644, of this law:

"It is therefore ordered, first, that the magistrates may sit & act busines by themselues, by drawing up bills & orders wch they shall see good in their wisdome, wch haveing agreed upon, they may p̃sent them to the deputies to bee considered of, how good & wholesome such orders are for the country, & accordingly to give their assent or dissent, the deputies in like mann^r siting a p̃t by themselues, & consulting about such orders & lawes as they in their discretion & exppience shall find meete for com̃on good, wch agreed upon by them, they may

[2] [2 Records of Massachusetts, 40.]

p̃sent to the magistrates, who, according to their wisdome, haveing seriously considered of them, may consent upon them or disalow them; & when any orders have passed the appbation of both ma^trats^ & deputies, then such orders to bee ingrossed, & in the last day of the Court to bee read deliberately, & full assent to bee given; pvided, also, that all matt^rs^ of iudicature wch this Co^r^t shall take cognisance of shalbee issued in like manner."[3]

In 2 Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England, 46, under date Sept. 7, 1643, appears this:

"Three conclusions were deliv^r^d in by Mr Cotton, in the name of himselfe & other eld^rs^ about the negative voyce."

It has been thought that these are the long answers of the elders printed in 2 Records of Massachusetts, 90-96, under date of Nov. 13, 1644, although the substance of these answers seems to relate largely to other matters and does not directly touch the negative voice. Moreover, they are subsequent to the law of March 7, 1644, by which the question was laid at rest. (See Commonwealth v. Roxbury, 9 Gray, 451, 481.)

It was resolved by a vote of May 6, 1646 that "notwithstanding all the reasons alleged" the separate sittings and actions of the house of deputies should be continued. 3 Records of Massachusetts 62 [65].

A superficial examination of the colony records might lead one to think that the controversy arose again. Under date of May 14, 1645, 3 Records of Massachusetts, 11, occurs this:

"Itt is ordered, y^t^ Mr Speaker, Majo^r^ Gibbons, Mr Dummer, Lef^t^ Duncomb, & Mr Sparowhawke shall joyne wth o^r^ honno^r^ed Dep^tyr^ Goun^r^, Mr Bradstreete, & Mr Hibbings as a comittee to consider of some way whereby ye negative vote may be tempered, y^t^ justice may have free passage, & y^t^ ye retourne of ye comittee be p̃sented to ye consideration of ye Courte."

No record of a report of this committee is found. On October 17, 1649, by the General Court,

[3] [2 Records of Massachusetts, 58-59.]

"It is ordered, that in cases wherein there hath bein difference the Generall Court should heare the case together, & determine the case by ye major^r^ vote."[4]

This on its face was an abolition of the negative vote. But that this was not its purpose or intent or effect is manifest from a later vote. Under date of May 26, 1652, 4 Records of Massachusetts, Part I, 82, occurs the following:

"Whereas there is a manifest & inconvenient mistake in the penning of the order, title Gennerall Court, page the 8th of the last printed booke, that leaves all or most of the cases formerly issued in the Gennerall Court doubtfull & vncertjane, and takes away the negative vote, both of Magis^tes^ and Deputjes, in making lawes, as well as in cases of judicature, which was not intended, much lesse consented to, itt is therefore ordered, that for tjme to come, if there fall out any difference betwixt ye Magistrates and the Deputjes, in any case of judicature, either civill or criminall, it shall be determined by ye major p̃t of the whole Court, and the forementioned lawe is hereby repealed."

Substantially the same entry is found in 3 Records of Massachusetts, 266, under date of May 27, 1652. A further record is found much later; under date of May 7, 1673, 4 Records of Massachusetts, Part II, 559, occurs the following entry:

"It is ordered, & Samuel Symonds, Esq̃, Dep^t^ Goû, Symon Bradstreet, & Wm Staughton, Esq̃s, Mr Jno Oxenbridge, Mr Vryan Oakes, Capt̃ Joshua Hubbard, Mr John Richards, Mr Henry Bartholmew, Capt̃ John Hull, & Mr Samuel Torrey shallbe & hereby are appointed a committee to consider of these three questions or proposalls, the magistrates to appoint time & place of meeting, making their return to the next sessions of ye Court. 1 Q. Whither according to pattent there be a negative vote in any part of the Generall Court; if there be, then in what cases. Secondly. How farr our possitive lawes doe in this matter agree wth or disagree from the patent.

3Q. Where the vse of the neagtive voat causeth an obstruction in any matter of necessity to be concluded or of great moment to the publick, what may be the best expedient for an issue, whither by lot or otherwise."

It does not appear that this committee ever made

[4] 2 Records of Massachusetts, 285.]

report. It seems manifest, however, that all these records relate to the decision of questions strictly judicial in their nature and have nothing to do with legislative principle involved in the earlier records. The statutes of 1635 and 1644 stand together unaffected in essence by later action, and apparently the governmental controversy was stilled by the statute of the latter year.

Thus separate sittings for the two houses came into existence as part of the government of the colony. Two houses as independent branches had been established nine years earlier. That was the vital step. Two distinct branches of the general court might in those days without inconvenience sit together except in cases of disagreement. Separate sittings were bound to come sooner or later. The sow case accentuated the difficulty of two independent branches sitting together and brought it distinctly to public attention. It was the occasion for the permanent establishment of separate sittings. Its real significance, however, is that it settled finally that in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, there should be two branches of the General Court. There was hammered out upon the anvil of free public discussion, to which the case gave rise, the mighty principle that this should be a government with a single legislative department divided into two distinct and independent branches. That itself was but an amplification of the deeper principle that this should be a representative government and not a pure democracy. That which has come down to us of the writings on the subject shows that the first settlers had a profound and accurate appreciation of the inherent and fatal weaknesses of a pure democracy and of the absolute necessity of a representative form of government for the preservation and permanence of free institutions. They bent their energies with deep conviction toward the establishment of a government which could endure. The march of events during the last three centuries has demonstrated their wisdom and foresight.

Appendix I

Copy of Manuscript in Possession of American Antiquarian Society.

Att the general Courtt (3) 18-1642

A breaviate of ye Case betwene Richard Sheareman plt by petition & Capt Robert Keaine defen^{tt} aboute ye title to A straye Sowe supposed to be broughtt frõ Deare Iland about (9)^{ber}-1636.

The poynts in the Case agreed

1 The plt had a Sowe all white, save a black Spott under the eye of the biggnesse of a Shilling & a ragged eare.

2 This Sowe was Carryed to deare Iland

3 Noe prfe that it was brought back. onelye prbable itt might be though neare 40 Swine miscaryed there that yeare

4 The defen^{dt} had a straye Sowe soposed to be brought frõ Deare Iland last yeare

5 This Sowe was Cryed divers tymes, & many came & sawe her, in the tyme the defend^{t} keept her, wch was betwene one & 3 yeares.

6 The defend^{dt} had before this tyme, a faire white Sowe of his owne wch he keept in his yarde wth the straye Sowe about a yeare.

7 The defen^{dt} killed one of these Sowes about (8) ^{ber} 1637

8 The pl^{ts} wife soon after, charged the defen^{dt} to have killed her Sowe

9 The defen^{dt} shewing the pl^{ts} wife the Sowe wch remained alive she disclaimed itt

10 Upon Complaint of ye pl^{ts} wife, the cause was brought to ye Elders (as matter of offence) & upon hearing all Allegations, & the most materiall witnesses on booth parts, the defen^{dt} was cleared.

11 The cause thus rested till (2-1640 and then the pl^{ts} wife brought itt to the Inferyor Courte att Bostõ where (upon a full hearinge) the jurye founde for y^{e} defen^{dt} & awarded him about 3$^{£}$ costs

12 Now (about 2 yeares after) the pl^{t} brings the cause (by petition) into the generall Courte declyning the Court of

Assistants to wch itt prplye belonged, & declares againe for the Sowe wch was killed (8^ber-37.

THE EVIDENCE

pr.pl^t Two or three witnesses that the Sowe killed (8^ber-37 had sume such black spott under the Eye & some cutts or ragges on the eare

pr. deft 1 This contradickted by more witnesses (wch yet may be reaconsiled by other witnesses of thee pl^ts (viz) that the defen^ts owne Sowe had sume such spott thereaboute in the skinne butt not in the haire & soe might not be easye to discerne when the haire was thick, butt apparent when the haire was off.

2 prvd by 6 or 7 wittnesses whoe then lived in the defen^ts famelye, but are all gone since (but one or two) y^t this Sowe was the defend^ts owne, & bought of one Houghton.

For the other Sowe wch was alive a yeare after pr.pl^t divers witnesses, that this Sowe had such markes as the pl^ts

pr.def^tt 11 more witnesses (& of as good credytt) that this Sowe (which was the straye) had other markes & not such as the pl^t Claimed itt by

2 Itt was clearely prvd that this was the onely straye Sowe the defen^dt had, that this was offered to be shewed to the pl^ts wife before the first Sowe was killed though att another tyme denyed her, for some reasons then alledged by ye defen^tt & that she was shewed itt after in thee defen^ts yeard & confidently disclaimed itt as none of hers, And now againe, upon her Oath in the Courtt did claime A Sowe by other markes & not such as this Sowe had.

For a 3 Sowe never spoaken of before this Courte pr.pl^t A witnesse or 2 that they sawe a 3^d Sowe in the defen^ts yarde.

pr.def^tt 1 This can be of noe waight against soe manye wittnesses to the contrarye.

2 This 3^d Sowe is not prvd to have such markes as the pl^ts

3 This might be one of the broode of the other Sowes, or some Neigh^rs swine taken in the defen^tts garden & keept up wth his owne, till the owner fetched it awaye.

4 the pl^ts claime & the scope of his Evidence being for the Sowe killed about (8^ber)-37- if he faile of that the Courte is not to seeke out a Sowe for him.

THE WHOLE EAVIDENCE IS THUS BALLANCED.

pr.pl^{t} The testimon^{y} consider agt amount to a pbable eavidence, that the defen^{tt} had & converted to his owne use the pl^{ts} Sowe.

Ball^{d} The testmonyes reaching noe further, maye albe true, & yett the defen^{tt} not guiltye, nor anye of these Sowes the pl^{ts}.

pr.def^{tt} The testimonyes (whether considered agtt or wth the other) afforde Evidence of Certaintye, raised upon certaine grownds, as occasion, oppertunity, familiaritye, freaquencye &c.

Ball^{d}. If this testimonye be true, Itt is not possible the defen^{tt} should be guiltye, or anye of these Sowes the pl^{ts}.

FOR INSTANCE

Joseph wanders alone in the wildernesse his Coate is founde torne & bloudie, he is never heard off for manye yeares: upon this pbable evidence, Jacob concluds that Joseph was devowred of a wilde beast: But when evidence of certaintye comes out of Aegipt that he was ther alive, & Lord of Egipe the former evidence was invailed & the Spirit of Jacob revived, & now he concluds he was living; though he knewe not how he should come thither, or how he should be soe advansed there, Now lett anye impartiall hande hold the scales while religion & sownde reason give Judgm^{t} in the case.

Yett (if neede weare) this might be added, that whereas the pl^{ts} wife was allowed to take her Oath for the markes of her Sowe, the defen^{dt} & his wife (being denyed the like libertye) come voluntarelye into ye Court & solomelye in the preasence of god declared. 1. that ye Sowe wch was first killed was there owne. 2. that ye Sowe wch remained & was shewed the pl^{ts} wife & wch she disclaimed was the Straye Sowe. 3. that they never had anye other straye Sowe.

This cause (after the best pt of 7 dayes spent in Examinatio & agitation) is by the breakeing up of the Courte dismissed not by occasion of A negative voate in ye Magistrats (as is misreported) but by A fundamentall & Just lawe agreable to sounde reason as shall appeare (the Lord willinge) in due season: The lawe was made upon searious consideratiõ & advise wth all ye Elders (1) 1635 to this effect.

Noe lawe Sentence &c shall passe as an act of the Courte, wthout the consent of the greater pt of the magistrats of the one pte & the greater number of the deaputies on the other parte.

There were p^r^sent in ye Courte, when ye voate was to be taken. 9. Magistrats & 30 Deaputies whoe had all heard the Cause examined and argued, soe as noe centance could be legally passed w^th^out Consent of 5 magistrats and 16 deaputies wch neither pl^t^ nor defen^tt^ had for there were but 2 magist^rs^ & 25 deput^s^ for the pl^t^ & 7 magist^rs^ & 8 deput^s^ for the defend^t^ the other 7 stood doubtfull. yett was there noe necessitye that the cause might not have bene brought to an issue, for eyther the Court might have Argued the Case againe (by w^ch^) meanes some who were doubtfull might have come to a reasolut^n^ or others might have changed there Judgm^ts^ & soe have p^r^ceeded to a new voate, or else Comittyes might have bene Chosen, to order the Cause according to lawe.

That this is the true state of ye Case for the substance of itt, as it hath beene Considered & allowed, by other of my breethren & Assotiats booth Magistrats & deaputies (wth our p^r^seedings therein) wch we shall not be ashamed (by the Lords helpe) to avouch & maintaine, before all ye world I doe heare affirme under my hand: Dated att Bostõ this 5.-15-1642

JOHN WINTHROP ^govr^

APPENDIX II

2 Winthrop's History of New England, 69-72.

1642, April 22.

At the same general court there fell out a great business upon a very small occasion. Anno 1636, there was a stray sow in Boston, which was brought to Captain Keayne: he had it cried divers times, and divers came to see it, but none made claim to it for near a year. He kept it in his yard with a sow of his own. Afterwards one Sherman's wife, having lost such a sow, laid claim to it, but came not to see it, till Captain Keayne had killed his own sow. After being showed the stray sow, and finding it to have other marks than she had claimed her sow by, she gave out that he had killed her sow.

The noise hereof being spread about the town, the matter was brought before the elders of the church as a case of offence; many witnesses were examined, and Captain Keayne was cleared. She, not being satisfied with this, by the instigation of one George[5] Story, a young merchant of London, who kept in her house, (her husband being then in England,) and had been brought before the governour upon complaint of Captain Keayne as living under suspicion, she brought the cause to the inferiour court at Boston, where, upon a full hearing, Captain Keayne was again cleared, and the jury gave him 3£ for his cost, and he bringing his action against Story and her for reporting about that he had stolen her sow, recovered £20 damages of either of them. Story upon this searcheth town and country to find matter against Captain Keayne about this stray sow, and got §one§ of his witnesses to come into Salem court and to confess there that he had forsworn himself; and upon this he petitions in Sherman's name, to this general court, to have the cause heard again, which was granted, and the best part of seven days were spent in examining of witnesses and debating of the cause; and yet it was not determined, for there being[6] ||nine magistrates|| and thirty deputies, no sentence could by law pass without the greater number of both, which neither plaintiff nor defendant had, for there were for the plaintiff two magistrates and fifteen deputies, §and for the defendant seven magistrates, and eight deputies[7]§, the other seven deputies stood doubtful. Much contention and earnestness there was, which indeed did mostly arise from the difficulty of the case, in regard of cross witnesses, §and some prejudices§ (as one ||[8] professed||) against the person, which blinded some men's judgments that they could not attend the true nature and course of the evidence. For all the plaintiff's witnesses amounted to no more but an evidence of probability, so as they might all swear true, and yet the sow in question might not be the plaintiff's. But the defendant's witnesses gave a certain evidence, upon their certain knowledge, and

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[5]My search for any traces of this man has been unsuccessful.

[6]||one magistrate||

[7]It is strange how the former editor could have suffered the mutilated sentence to pass.

[8]||protested||

that upon certain grounds, (and these as many and more and of as good credit as the others,) so as if this testimony were true, it was not possible the sow should be the plaintiff's. Besides, whereas the plaintiff's wife was admited to take her oath for the marks of her sow, the defendant and his wife (being a very godly sober woman) was denied the like, although propounded in the court by Mr. Cotton, upon that rule in the law he shall swear he hath not put his hands to his neighbour's goods. Yet they both in the open court solemnly, as in the presence of God, declared their innocency, &c. Further, if the case had been doubtful, yet the defendant's lawful possession ought to have been preferred to the plaintiff's doubtful title, for in *equali jure melior est conditio possidentis*. But the defendant being of ill report in the country for a hard dealer in his course of trading, and having been formerly censured in the court and in the church also, by admonition for such offences, carried many weak minds strongly against him. And the truth is, he was very worthy of blame in that kind, as divers others in the country were also in those times, though they were not detected as he was; yet to give every man his due, he was very useful to the country both by his hospitality and otherwise. But one dead fly spoils much good ointment.[9]

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[9]Frequent animadversions are found in our records on cases of real or supposed overcharge for labour and commodities. A ludicrous one, mentioned by Hubbard, 248, is more satisfactorily stated in our records of the colony I. 250, at a general court 22 of 3, 1639: "Edward Palmer, for his extortion, taking 1 pound 13.7, for the plank and woodwork of Boston stocks, is fined 5 pounds, and censured to be set an hour in the stocks." Afterwards the fine was "*remitted* to ten shillings." The remainder of the sentence, I fear, was executed. Our Ipswich chronicler is almost facetious about this part: he "had the honour to sit an hour in them himself, to warn others not to offend in the like kind."

The unhappy subject of the controversy in the text was exposed to very general blame, and several particular complaints. I have seen an original affidavit of Thomas Wiltshire, that for work done at Captain Keayne's house there was due to the deponent 38 shillings, and that K. sold him a piece of broad cloth, "which he said was Spanish broad cloth, and delivered for payment to this deponent at seventeen shillings per yard, the which cloth this deponent showed to Henry Shrimpton, and he said it was not worth above ten shillings per yard, for it was but cloth rash, and he said goodman Read, and his wife showed a waistcoat of the same kind of cloth, which cost but nine shillings per yard, and in this deponent's judgment was better cloth; and this deponent showed the same cloth to Mr. Rock, and he said it was worth but ten shillings per yard, for it was but cloth rash, and this deponent showed it also to Mr. Stoddard, and he said likewise that it was cloth rash, and was not worth above ten shillings per yard, and was dear enough of that price, or words to that effect." Such was the dangerous form and matter of judicial investigations in the early days.

2 History of New England by John Winthrop, pp. 69-72

There was great expectation in the country, by occasion of Story's clamours against him, that the cause would have passed against the captain, but falling out otherwise, gave occasion to many to speak unreverently of the court, especially of the magistrates, and the report went, that their negative voice had hindered the course of justice, and that these magistrates must be put out, that the power of the negative voice might be taken away. Thereupon it was thought fit by the governour and other of the magistrates to publish a declaration of the true state of the cause, that truth might not be condemned unknown. This was framed before the court brake up; for prevention whereof, the governour tendered a declaration in nature of a pacification, whereby it might have appeared, that, howsoever the members of the court dissented in judgment, yet they were the same in affection, and had a charitable opinion of each other; but this was opposed by some of the plaintiff's part, so it was laid by. And because there was much labouring in the country upon a false supposition, that the magistrate's negative voice stopped the plaintiff in the case of the sow, one of the magistrates published a declaration of the necessity of upholding the same. It may be here inserted, being but brief.

Appendix III

2 Winthrop's History of New England, 115-119.
1643.

The sow business not being yet digested in the country, many of the elders being yet unsatisfied, and the more by reason of a new case stated by some of the plaintiff's side and delivered to the elders, wherein they dealt very ||[10]partially||, for they drew out all the evidence which made for the plaintiff, and thereupon framed their conclusion without mentioning any of the defendant's evidence. This being delivered to the elders, and by them imparted to some of the other side, an answer was presently drawn, which occasioned the elders to take a view of all the evidence on both parties, and a meeting

[10]||particularly||

being procured both of magistrates and elders (near all in the jurisdiction) and some of the deputies, the elders there declared, that notwithstanding their former opinions, yet, upon examination of all the testimonies, they found ||[11]such|| contrariety and crossing of testimonies, as they did not see any ground for the court to proceed to judgment in the case, and therefore earnestly desired that the court might never be more troubled with it. To this all consented except ||[12]Mr. Bellingham|| who still maintained his former opinion, and would have the magistrates lay down their negative voice, and so the cause to be heard again. This stiffness of his and singularity in opinion was very unpleasing to all the company, but they went on notwithstanding, and because a principal end of the meeting was to reconcile differences and take away offences, which were risen between some of the magistrates by occasion of this sow business and the treatise of Mr. Saltonstall against the council, so as Mr. Bellingham and he stood divided from the rest, which occasioned much opposition even in open court, and much partaking in the country, but by the wisdom and faithfulness of the elders, Mr. Saltonstall was brought to see his failings in that treatise, which he did ingenuously acknowledge and bewail, and so he was reconciled with the rest of the magistrates. They laboured also to make a perfect reconciliation between the governour and Mr. Bellingham. The governour offered himself ready to it, but the other was not forward, whereby it rested in a manner as it was. * * * The deputies, also, who were present at this meeting and had voted for the plaintiff in the case of the sow, seemed now to be satisfied, and the elders agreed to deal with the deputies of their several towns, to the end that that cause might never trouble the court more. But all this notwithstanding, the plaintiff, (or rather one G. Story ||[13]her|| solicitor,) being of an unsatisfied spirit, and animated, or at least too much countenanced, by some of the court, preferred a petition at the court of elections * * * it was returned that the greater part of them did conceive the cause should be heard again, and some

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[11] ||much||
[12] ||blank||
[13] ||his||

others in the court declared themselves of the same judgment, which caused others to be much grieved to see such a spirit in godly men, that neither the judgment of near all the magistrates, nor the concurrence of the elders and their mediation, nor the loss of time and charge, nor the settling of peace in court and country could prevail with §them§ to let such a cause fall, (as in ordinary course of justice it ought,) as nothing could be found in, by any one testimony, to be of criminal nature, nor could the matter of the suit, with all damages, have amounted to forty shillings. But two things appeared to carry men on in this course as it were in captivity. One was, the deputies stood only upon this, that their towns were not satisfied in the cause (which by the way shows plainly the democratical spirit which acts our deputies, &c.) The other was, the desire of the name of victory; whereas on the other side the magistrates, &c. were content for peace sake, and upon the elders' advice, to decline that advantage, and to let the cause fall for want of advice to sway it either way.

Now that which made the people so unsatisfied, and unwilling the cause should rest as it stood, was the 20 pounds which the defendant had recovered against the plaintiff in an action of slander for saying he had stolen the sow, &c. and many of them could not distinguish this from the principal cause, as if she had been adjudged to pay 20 pounds for demanding her sow, and yet the defendant never took of this more than 3 pounds, for his charges of witnesses, &c. and offered to remit the whole, if she would have acknowledged the wrong she had done him. But he being accounted a rich man, and she a poor woman, this so wrought with the people, as being blinded with unreasonable compassion, they could not see, or not allow justice her reasonable course. This being found out by some of the court, a motion was made, that some who had interest in the defendant would undertake to persuade him to restore the plaintiff the 3 pounds (or whatever it were) he took upon that judgment, and likewise to refer other matters to reference which were between the said Story and him. This the court were satisfied with, and proceeded no further.

There was yet one offence which the elders desired might also be removed, and for that end some of them moved the

governour in it, and he easily consented to them so far as they had convinced him of his failing therein. The matter was this. The governour had published a writing about the case of the sow, as is herein before declared, wherein some passages gave offence, which he being willing to remove, so soon as he came into the general court, he spake as followeth, (his speech is set down verbatim to prevent misrepresentation, as if he had retracted what he had wrote in the point of the case:) "I understand divers have taken offence at a writing I set forth about the sow business; I desire to remove it, and to begin my year in a reconciled estate with all. The writing is of two parts, the matter and the manner. In the former I had the concurrence of others of my brethren, both magistrates and deputies; but for the other, viz. the manner, that was wholly mine own, so as whatsoever was blame-worthy in it I must take it to myself. The matter is point of judgment, which is not at my own disposing. I have examined it over and again by such light as God hath afforded me from the rules of religion, reason, and common practice, and truly I can find no ground to retract any thing in that, therefore I desire I may enjoy my liberty herein, as every of yourselves do, and justly may. But for the manner, whatsoever I might allege for my justification before men, I now pass it over: I now set myself before another judgment seat. I will first speak to the manner in general, and then to two particulars. For the general. Howsoever that which I wrote was upon great provocation by some of the adverse party, and upon invitation from others to vindicate ourselves from that aspersion which was cast upon us, yet that was no sufficient warrant for me to break out into any distemper. I confess I was too prodigal of my brethren's reputation: I might have obtained the cause I had in hand without casting such blemish upon others as I did. For the particulars. 1. For the conclusion, viz. now let religion and sound reason give judgment in the case; whereby I might seem to conclude the other side to be void of both religion and reason. It is true a man may (as the case may be) appeal to the judgment of religion and reason, but, as I there carried it, I did arrogate too much to myself and ascribe too little to others. The other particular was the profession I

made of maintaining what I wrote before all the world, which, though it may modestly be professed, (as the case may require,) yet I confess it was now not so beseeming me, but was indeed a fruit of the pride of mine own spirit. These are all the Lord hath brought me to consider of, wherein I acknowledge my failings, and humbly intreat you will pardon and pass them by; if you please to accept my request, your silence shall be a sufficient testimony thereof unto me, and I hope I shall be more wise and watchful hereafter."

The sow business had started another question about the magistrates' negative vote in the general court. The deputies generally were very earnest to have it taken away; whereupon one of the magistrates wrote a small treatise, wherein he laid down the original of it from the patent, and the establishing of it by order of the general court in 1634, showing thereby how it was fundamental to our government, which, if it were taken away, would be a mere democracy. He showed also the necessity and usefulness of it by many arguments from scripture, reason, and common practice, &c. Yet this would not satisfy, but the deputies and common people would have it taken away; and yet it was apparent (as some of the deputies themselves confessed) the most did not understand it. An answer also was written (by one of the magistrates as was conceived) to the said treatise, undertaking to avoid all the arguments both from the patent and from the order, &c. This the deputies made great use of in this court, supposing they had now enough to carry the cause clearly with them, so as they pressed earnestly to have it presently determined. But the magistrates told them the matter was of great concernment, even to the very frame of our government; it had been established upon serious consultation and consent of all the elders; it had been continued without any inconvenience or apparent mischief these fourteen years, therefore it would not be safe nor of good report to alter on such a sudden, and without the advice of the elders: offering withal, that if upon such advice and consideration it should appear to be inconvenient, or not warranted by the patent and the said order, &c. they should be ready to join with them in taking it away. Upon these propositions they were stilled, and so an

order was drawn up to this effect, that it was desired that every member of the court would take advice, &c. and that it should be no offence for any, either publicly or privately, to declare their opinion in the case, so it were modestly, &c. and that the elders should be desired to give their advice before the next meeting of this court. It was the magistrates' only care to gain time, that so the people's heat might be abated, for then they knew they would hear reason, and that the advice of the elders might be interposed; and that might there be liberty to reply to the answer, which was very long and tedious, which accordingly was done soon after the court, and [14]published to good satisfaction. One of the elders also wrote a small treatise, wherein scholastically and religiously he handled the question, laying down the several forms of government both simple and mixt, and the true form of our government, and the unavoidable change into a democracy, if the negative voice were taken away; and answered all objections, and so concluded for the continuance of it, so as the deputies and the people also, having their heat moderated by time, and their judgments better informed by what they had learned about it, let the cause fall, and he who had written the answer to the first defence, appeared no further in it.

Appendix IV

2 Winthrop's History of New England, 160.

1644.

At the same court in the first month, upon the motion of the deputies, it was ordered, that the court should be divided in their consultations, the magistrates by themselves, and the deputies by themselves, what the one agreed upon they should send to the other, and if both agreed, then to pass, &c. This order determined the great contention about the negative voice.

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[14]Publishing does not here mean printing. The tract, written for circulation by Winthrop, is in Our [Mass.] Historical Society's library, dated 5 of 4th mo, 1643. It contains sixteen pages, and is among the Hutchinson MSS.

Appendix V

2 Records of Massachusetts, 3.
1642.

"George Story undertook for Rich^rd Sherman that if he shalbee cast, what cost shalbee ceased he will beare it."

Appendix VI

2 Records of Massachusetts, 12.
1642, June 14.

In the case between Rich^rd Sherman & Capt. Keayne, this was ppounded to vote: Whether the defend^t bee found to *have bene possest of the plaintiff's sowe, & converted her to his owne use, or not: it was voted by 2 ma^trats & 15 deputies for the plaintiffe, & by 7 ma^trats & 8 deputies for the defend^t, & 7 deputies were newters.

Appendix VII

2 Records of Massachusetts, 51.
1643, October 17.

Mr. Stories petition is answered thus: Wee conceive that hee can blam none but hemselfe that his causes were not tryed the last Quarter Co^rt; & therefore hee must stay till the Co^rt come againe, unlesse in the mean time Capt. Keayne & hee come to an agreem^t betwixt themselues, wch wee much desire.

Goodm̃ Shermans petition is answered thus: Wee conceive that if Capt̃. Keayne bee willing, & accordingly shall pforme what was undertaken for him in the first session of this Co^rt, that then Sherman shall give him a discharge for all differences & controversies concerning the sowe; wch if hee refuse to do, hee shall bee debarred any further hearing forever; but if Capt̃ Keayne refuse, Goodm̃ Sherman may take the benefit of the lawe.

Appendix VIII

2 Records of the Court of Assistants Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 119.

1642, December 20.

George Story appearing is discharged of his Bond for appearance to answer Capteine Keayne this Co^rt.

Appendix IX

Hubbard's History of New England, 382-383.

1642.

In the same year [1642] fell out a new occasion of starting the old question about the negative vote in the magistrates; for the country, and all the Courts thereof, (General and Particular,) in a manner, were filled with much trouble, about something[15] that strayed from a poor man's possession in the year 1636; but in this year were revived so many controversies about the true title thereof, as engaged all the wisdom and religion in the country to put an end thereunto. The poor man's cause is like to engage the multitude with a kind of compassion, against which, as well as against the bribes of the rich, the law of God doth caution judges. It proved almost as long and chargeable as *Arrestum Parliamenti Tholosanni*, in the case of Martin Guerra,[16] to find who was the right owner of the thing in controversy.[17] It is much to see the restless and unreasonable striving in the spirit of man, that a lessor Court, that hath power to determine an action of an hundred or a thousand pounds, could not put an issue to a matter of so small a value. It proceeded so far at the last, (through some prejudice taken up against the defendant,) that the very foundations of the whole authority of the country were in danger to be blown up thereby; a report being taken up by the common people of the country that the negative vote of the magistrates (who did in that, as they should in all cases, look more to the nature of the evidence than any preoccupating notion or prejudice to or against the plaintiff or defendant) had hindered the course of justice. On that occasion it was strongly moved

[15]First written, *a swine*, which was, in truth, the "something." See Sav. Win. II. 69.—H.

[16]The "thing in controversy," in this case, was a woman, whom two individuals claimed as wife.—H.

[17]First written, *of the said swine*.—H.

that the said negative vote might be taken away; for, by the Patent, no matter should pass in the General Court, without the concurrence of six of the magistrates, at the least, with the Governor or Deputy, which, in this case, could not be found; therefore was it the more on this account solicitously endeavored that the power of the negative vote in the General Court might be taken away. And it was so impetuously now carried on, that there was scarce any possibility to resist the torrent of common fame, jealousy,[18] * * * * and prejudice of minds, so as at the last, for peace sake, and quieting the minds of the people in the present exigence of the said[19] business, the magistrates yielded to a private reference, as to some circumstances of the action; and the defendant was persuaded to return the poor woman her charges, i. e. what he had received upon the account of a former action, viz., £3, as part of £20, that was granted by the jury; which was done rather out of charity, and respect to the public good, than out of conviction of duty in point of justice, as wise men always apprehended the case. But for the negative vote, it will more naturally fall to be spoken to afterwards.

Appendix X

Hubbard's History of New England, 389-391.

1643.

But this business of the book against the Standing Council was no sooner ended, but another controversy was revived about the negative vote, upon occasion of the forementioned controversy, which at this time, in the year 1643, was, by the restless importunity of some, that liked to labor in the fire, called over again; and this caused the same question to be moved afresh, about the magistrates' negative vote in the General Court. The deputies were very earnest to have it taken away. Whereupon one of the magistrates wrote a small treatise, wherein he laid down the original of it from the Patent, and the establishing of it by order of the General Court, in the year 1634; showing thereby how it was funda-

[18] MSS. illegible.—Ed. I am obliged to acknowledge it.—H.

[19] First written *sow*.—H.

mental to the government, which, if it were taken away, would be a mere democracy. He showed also the necessity and usefulness of it, from Scripture, reason, and common practice, &c. Yet this would not satisfy, but the deputies were earnest to have it taken away; and yet it was apparent, (as some of the deputies themselves confessed,) the most did not understand it. But where men's affections are once engaged upon any design, whether reason persuade to it or not, it is usually with great earnestness pressed on. Those that were, at this time, inclined that way were much strengthened in their purpose by a discourse that fell into their hands, (drawn up by one of the magistrates, as was conceived;) supposing they had now enough clearly to carry the cause, and avoid the danger of all arguments and reasons laid down in the former treatise, and therefore pressed earnestly to have the matter presently determined. But the magistrates told them the matter was of great concernment, even to the very frame of their government, and that it had been established upon serious consultation and consent of all the ministers, and had been continued without any apparent mischief and inconvenience now these fourteen years; therefore it would not be safe nor convenient to alter on such a sudden, and without the advice of the ministers of the country, offering withal that if, upon such advice and consideration, it should appear to be inconvenient, and not warranted by the Patent and by the said order, &c., they should be ready to join with them in the taking it away. Upon these propositions their heat was moderated, and an order drawn up that every member of the Court should take advice; and that it should be no offense for any, either publicly or privately, with modesty to declare their opinion in the case; and that the ministers should be desired to give their advice, before the next meeting of the Court. It was the magistrates' only care to gain this, that so the people's minds might be the more easily quieted; for they knew the ministers would hear reason, and that so there might be liberty to reply to the said answer of one of the magistrates, (very long and tedious, but not with that strength of reason, as was by some apprehended,) which accordingly was done soon after the Court, and published to good satisfaction. One of the ministers also

wrote a small treatise, wherein he, both scholastically and religiously, handled the question, laying down the several forms of government, both simple and mixed, and the true form of the Massachusetts government, and the unavoidable change of the government into a democracy, if the negative vote were taken away.

Thus the deputies, and the people also, having the heat of their spirits allayed by time, and their judgments better informed by what they had learned about it, let the cause fall, and the gentleman who had written the answer to the first defence, &c., appeared no further in it for that time; and it was conceived that there would have been a final end put to that controversy by an Order made in the next Court, March 25, 1644, when there was a motion of the deputies that the Court should sit apart in their consultations, the magistrates by themselves, and the deputies by themselves, and what the one agreed upon they should send to the other, and if both agreed, then to pass, &c. But the controversy could not be so easily determined, so it was laid aside for that time; but afterwards it was agreed that, in case the major part of the deputies, and also of the magistrates, did not unite in the same conclusion in any matter of judicature, that then, the whole Court being met together, the vote of the major part should put an issue to the case; which establishment continued for a long time after.

Appendix XI

1 Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, 142-144.

1645.

About this time [1645] there was another struggle for power between the assistants or magistrates, and the deputies. The latter could not bear their votes should lose their effect by the non-concurrence of the former who were so much fewer in number; but, by the firmness of Mr. Winthrop, the assistants maintained their right at this time, and (March 25, 1644) the deputies, not,being able to prevail, moved that the two houses might sit apart, and from that time votes were sent in a parlimentary way from one house to the other, and the consent of both was necessary to an act of the court. This continued a

short time, without any further provision, but finally the magistrates consented, that in appeals from the lower courts and all judicial proceedings, if the two houses differed the major vote of the whole should determine. The deputies also looked with envy upon the powers exercised by the magistrates in the recess of the general court, and sent up a vote or bill to join some of their number with the magistrates, who should receive a commission from the court, but this was refused as an innovation upon the charter. The house then desired the magistrates would suspend the exercise of their executive power until the next session. They answered that they must act as occasion required according to the trust reposed in them. The speaker told them they would not be obeyed. The court broke up in this temper. But, disturbances happening with the Indians, it was called together again in a short time, and the deputies voted that (*salvo jure*) for the peace and safety of the colony the governor and assistants should take order for the welfare of the people, in all sudden cases which may happen within the jurisdiction, until the next session of the court. By agreement, all the ministers were called in at the next session, in order to give their opinion upon the point in difference. They determined that the governor, deputy governor, and assistants were invested with the magistratical power, (the nature and extent of this power is left in the dark,) and that they do not derive it from the people, who were only to design such persons as they thought fit for the exercise of those powers. Several other points were referred to the ministers at the same time, and all agreed to by both houses with some small amendment.

The controversy between the two houses at this time, was occasioned by a difference in sentiment upon the identity of a swine, which was claimed by a poor woman as having strayed from her some years before, and her title being disputed by a person of more consequence, divided not the court only but the whole country. The identity of Martin Guerre was not more controverted in France. Pity and compassion for the poor woman prevailed with the common people against right. At last those magistrates who had been in favour of the other side, for the magistrates were divided too,

Dudley on one side and Bellingham the other, persuaded the person who they supposed had a good title, and who had recovered below, to relinquish it, that the public peace might be restored.

Appendix XII

Mass. Archives, Vol. 38B, p. 214 a.

The Humble Peticeon of Richard Shearman Humbly Sheweth That:

Wheareas yor Petio^{r} at the last Court did humbly Peticeon that an issue might bee put to the differrance depending betwixt Capt Keayne & himselfe since wch tyme in answeare therevnto the wor^{ppll} Mr Hibbins resolud your Petic^{r} that he was sent as from that Honrd Court to tender his goods againe (and that the Petic^{r} should receiue them as full satisfacon and thervpon discharge the Captaine from all former contraversies &c the wch he could not doe (because therein he should not onely wronge his owne conscience but alsoe as much as in him Lyeth condemne the vote of the Gennerall Courte, (And if the cause doth remayne Dubious in the Highest Courte yor Petice^{r} knoweth not how the former Act of an inferrio^{r} Court can rest certaine or that it is Lawfull for the Captaine to keepe his goods.

Wherefore yor Petic^{r} haueing ben damnifyed aboue 30^{l}: in expence & lose of tyme by waiting for Justice Doth humbly supplicate that he maye nowe obtaine the same and not suffer for some speeches of his wifes any longer Seing the wittness Against her haue erred in there testimonyes & since doe confesse that she vttered not those words as he shall pue before this Honrd Courte.

Maye it therefore please this Honoured Courte tenderly to Compasionate the condiceon of yor poore Petic^{r} and to releiue him therein According to the wayes of Justice

And yor Petic^{r} shall praye &c

Wee conceaue that if Capt Keayne be willing & accordingly shall pforme w^{t} was vndertaken for him in the first sessione of this Court that then Sherman shall giue him a discharge for

all differences & controversies concerneing the sowe wch if hee refuse to doe hee shalbee debarrd any furth^r^ heareing fo^r^euer but if Capt Keayne refuse Sherm̃ may take the benefitt of the lawe.

Appendix XIII

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PASTEL BY SHARPLES

THE PORTRAITS OF ISAIAH THOMAS

WITH SOME NOTES UPON HIS DESCENDANTS.

BY CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS

ONE hundred years ago, on the 24th of August (1820), the first library building of the American Antiquarian Society was dedicated. On that occasion a formal address was delivered by Isaac Goodwin and during that year the first volume of our Transactions was published under the title, "Archaeologia Americana." It seems not inappropriate that we should recall, at this meeting, Isaiah Thomas, by whose gift that building was erected, by whose foresight the books, then placed in it, were gathered together and by whose interest and active exertions the Society itself had been originated eight years before. In the eulogy delivered by the Hon. Levi Lincoln, in 1831, soon after the decease of Mr. Thomas, we have the only word picture of our founder by a contemporary. While without question a faithful description and an interesting statement, this pen portrait leaves much to be desired by those who would see the features and realize the form of one of the famous figures of the past.

A recent editorial in the daily press[1] claims that the present progress in the use of the pictograph seems certain to destroy all need of written language. Whatever may be in store for us in the future, because of the remarkable development of the film and the graphophone, singly and combined, it is a curious fact that, after more than sixty centuries in perfecting the alphabet, we should seem to be returning to the ideographic form of recording our thoughts in the

[1]New York Times, August 15, 1920.

abstract and our impressions and pictures of people in particular for the benefit of posterity. This statement does not ignore the fact that the arts of painting and sculpture, from the dawn of history, have preserved to us most of the knowledge of those early times which we possess. It is my desire merely to indicate a probable development, along these different lines, of these new processes in the future.

In the early part of the 18th century, oil painting and crayon were the favorite forms of preserving the features and figures of their contemporaries, together with that art, which was named in derision, because of his pleas for economy, after the minister of finance of Louis XV, Etienne de Silhouette. The silhouette picture was not only cheap and popular, but the method was practiced by artists whose reputations were the best of their time as well as by many peripatetic wielders of brush and scissors. A high grade of artistic skill was often manifested in these and it would surprise those whose attention has not been called to the subject, to learn the size and number of collections accumulated at the present day, by persons interested in preserving these "shadow pictures" as they were called by Benjamin Franklin. It was my hope to discover an outline portrait of Isaiah Thomas cut by William Brown, by George B. King, or by William M. S. Doyle, the latter a Boston miniature and silhouette artist of merit, but none has yet come to my attention.

In June, 1818, Thomas wrote in his diary, "Engaged Mr. (Ethan Allen) Greenwood to take my likeness. I sat at his request five weeks since, when he finished one for himself. I sat again today for him to make one for myself. I sat six times for this last picture." That the result of Greenwood's work was satisfactory to his sitter is proved by the fact that ten years later in 1828, Thomas commissioned Henry Harding of Boston to make, for him, two copies of this portrait. One of these was presented to Alleghany College of Pennsylvania, from which he had received the degree of LL. D. July 2,

Painted by Greenwood

1818, the other being reserved for "another purpose," as he wrote in his diary. Knowing the intense interest of Thomas in free-masonry and knowing that the Morning Star Lodge of Worcester, which was founded by him, has a portrait of him, like the Greenwood, with the addition of a masonic jewel, it is a fair inference that the other purpose was a gift to that lodge. On the frame of this portrait is inscribed, "1769—Isaiah Thomas,—1831 Master of Morning Star Lodge, 1793-4-7-9-1801-2. Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Mass. 1803-4-5-9. Grand High Priest of the Grand R. A. Chapter of Mass. 1806-7-8." This masonic portrait was copied in 1875 by Charles K. Hardy of this city, and presented by the Worcester lodge to the Royal Arch Chapter of Boston of which Thomas was a member and high official, as the inscription, just read, indicates. There are two other portraits which are evidently copies of the Greenwood, one of which hangs on the walls of Leicester Academy, an institution in which Thomas was warmly interested and to which he sent at least two of his grandsons for education. This portrait has the inscription,—"Isaiah Thomas—Donor, 1831," but it has not been possible to discover from the records of the Academy the occasion of this gift, nor can we be certain by whom it was copied although it resembles very closely the other Harding pictures. The other portrait hangs in the masonic lodge room at Millbury and was presented to that lodge in 1906 by the Misses Randall, now of Boston, who lived in that town until after the death of their father, Abraham G. Randall. In the letter of gift, it is stated that the painting was an heirloom, having been given by the hand of their great grandfather, Isaiah Thomas, to their mother, Elizabeth C. (Simmons) Randall. This portrait, while unsigned and in poor condition was copied from the Greenwood by Edward Dalton Marchant who was born at Edgartown in 1806, and is the only American painter of that name in this period. As he was only 20 at this time, the portrait must be placed among his early work, it having been done before

1828. The proof of this statement lies in the following facts: a portrait of Thomas was drawn on stone and printed by William Pendleton of Boston. On the left side of this plate we find, "Marchant, from the painting by Greenwood," and on the right, "Pendleton's Lithography, Boston." The peculiarities in the face of the portrait, repeated in the print, prove that it was copied from that painting and that therefore the artist of the painting was Marchant. Our associate, Charles H. Taylor, Jr., who has studied this print, and is an authority on thees lithographs, states that Mr. Scott, one of Pendleton's workmen, told him that the date of this print was 1828. As Pendleton Bros., who claim to have introduced lithography into America, moved to Philadelphia in 1829, it is probable that this date is correct. As it is also a fact that Thomas owned the painting at this time, it is probable that he intended this print as a frontispiece for his "History of Printing," which had had none. This print is found in some of the copies of that book which had not been bound when published in 1810. An additional argument, that the print was ordered by Thomas lies in the fact that copies of it finished in color are in the possession of several of his descendants of today, through the bequests of a previous generation, no other copies in color being known.

Other portraits of Thomas were made by W. M. S. Doyle, Henry Williams, and Sarah Goodrich. W. M. S Doyle, previously referred to as a silhouette artist, made a miniature before 1811. This was engraved by William R. Jones of Philadelphia, for the November number of the "Freemason's Magazine," 1811, published in that city. It accompanied an address by Thomas on the occasion of his resignation as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. The plate of this engraving is in the possession of this Society and the picture is recorded in Stauffer's list of American Engravers as number 1526.

PAINTED BY MARCHANT AFTER GREENWOOD

The portrait by Williams, was engraved on copper, in stipple, by John R. Smith for the "Polyanthos," a magazine published in Boston by Joseph T. Buckingham. The portraits for the larger series of this magazine which began in 1812, were all done by J. R. Smith or David Edwin. This appeared in the number for August, 1814 and accompanied a short sketch of Mr. Thomas. It is listed in Stauffer as number 2932.

The more recent picture by Henry Billings was engraved on steel by Stephen A. Schoff and was used in connection with an account of the life and work of Thomas, in Buckingham's "Reminiscences," published in Boston, in the year 1852. It is an excellent likeness and must have been very satisfactory to his lifelong friend, Mr. Buckingham.

Sarah Goodrich, or Goodridge, as Dunlap records it, was born in Templeton in 1788, and died in 1853. The picture by her was copied on steel by Henry W. Smith and the plate used in the second edition of Thomas's "History of Printing," published in 1875. These three plates, also, are in the possession of the Society.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, one of the attractions for the entertainment of people was found in museums containing paintings of eminent men, sculptures, wax figures and objects of local, or national interest and importance. One of the earliest of these, the Columbian Museum, was opened in 1795, in Boston, by Daniel Bowen and Edward Savage. In 1807, W. M. S. Doyle became one of the proprietors and continued his interest until the collection was sold, in 1825, to the New England Museum, of which E. A. Greenwood was the proprietor. Greenwood had opened a small room, in 1812, called the New York Museum, which, in 1818, was named the New England Museum and was enlarged from time to time by the purchase of three, or four other museums in addition to the Columbian, acquired in 1825. This undertaking proved too expensive and it was sold, in 1834, to Moses Kimball, by the assignees of Greenwood, who had failed and retired to

Hubbardston. In 1841, Kimball changed its name to the Boston Museum and, for the first time, combined the performance of theatrical plays with the museum attractions. This action proved so successful that, in 1846, he erected the building in which was housed for many years the famous Boston Museum, which is so familiar to us of the older generation.

These facts are given in such detail because Dunlap states that many of the portraits in the Columbian Museum were painted by Greenwood and Savage, its proprietors. It is therefore certain, that the Greenwood painting, noted in the Thomas diary in 1818, was placed in that museum and indeed hung in the Boston Museum until quite recent years. It is not known today where that or any of the paintings are, as Kimball sold some of them, from time to time, and when the last reconstruction of the Museum took place, the remainder were sent away. While we have been able to trace, thus far, the original Greenwood, we know nothing of the portraits of Thomas by Henry Williams, and Henry Billings, if indeed they were more than sketches for the engravings made from them. In addition to these pictures and standing in this hall is a marble bust of Mr. Thomas, made in 1859 by Benjamin H. Kinney of Worcester, which reflects very happily the expression of the Greenwood painting. An etched plate of Isaiah Thomas, with very ornate border, made for the Society of Iconophiles, hangs on our walls, but the miniature of him in the bookplate of this Society, made by John A. J. Wilcox, better preserves the accepted likeness by Greenwood.

These portraits and prints, largely copied from the Greenwood painting were more or less for the public eye, but there were others, intended for the intimate family life, which should be included in this summary. Isaiah Thomas was married three times, but had children by his first wife only, the names of the living children being, Mary Anne and Isaiah, Junior. The daughter by her second and third husbands had four children, who

were living in 1819. The son, by his wife, Mary Weld had twelve and from these have come the many branches of this Thomas family of the present day. Appended to this paper is a genealogy of Isaiah Thomas, Senior, prepared in part from his Ms. notes, deposited in this library in 1819, and brought to date by correspondence with those of the family within our reach. While there are more than seventy in the present generation, it will be interesting to state here that, of the direct descendants, there are at this date but four bearing the name Thomas: William Thomas, of San Francisco, a member of this Society and his son, Benjamin Franklin Thomas, and William R. Thomas of New York and his son, William Trumbull Thomas. Among many bequests in the will of Isaiah Thomas, written in the year 1820, we find the following of interest in connection with the present subject:

"I bequeath, to my grandson, Isaiah Thomas the large crayon picture of myself together with the small crayon picture of his deceased grandmother.

to my granddaughter, Augusta, the daughter of my son, I give a miniature picture of myself, which picture is set in a gold frame and has plaited hair in the back of it.

to my granddaughter, Caroline, I give another miniature of myself (a crayon).

to my granddaughter, Hannah, I give the crayon picture of her aunt, Miss Hannah Weld, together with a profile framed and a print of myself.

to my grandson, Isaiah Thomas Simmons, I give another crayon picture of myself, a small one but drawn on a larger scale than that given to Caroline.

to my granddaughter, Elizabeth C. Simmons, I give a miniature picture of myself, set in gold, which is now in a small oval wooden box, in the sideboard standing in the parlor, In the same box is the other miniature picture bequeathed to my granddaughter, Caroline." (This bequest appears in the codicil added in 1830.)

and finally "to the American Antiquarian Society, the recent portrait of myself by Greenwood." (written in 1820.)

To trace these bequests among the members of the present generation has been a very interesting problem and my efforts have everywhere met with keen interest and active assistance. A most interesting miniature, because it represents Thomas as a young man, is in the possession of Mrs. George R. Minot and came from her mother with a miniature of Benjamin F. Thomas, her grandfather. It is set in gold and has the old style of loop at the top showing it to be contemporary work.

A miniature on ivory has just been found by Mrs. George R. Minot, among the papers of Miss Mary Thomas, recently deceased. There has been a tradition for many years that this was painted by Sarah Goodrich and this fact is proved by its resemblance to the engraving by Henry W. Smith in the second edition of Thomas' "History of Printing."

The two miniatures, described in the will as "in a small wooden box" and given to Caroline and Elizabeth, are in the hands of two members of the Thomas family. The one set in gold, left to Elizabeth, belongs to Isaac Rand Thomas, a member of this Society who traces his descent from Elias Thomas, an uncle of Isaiah. This, also is in the original setting.

The unmounted miniature was acquired by William Sloane of New York, who after having it suitably mounted has given it to his daughter Margaret Sloane, she being descended from Frances, wife of William A. Crocker of Taunton. Both of these miniatures came from the Misses Randall, who are granddaughters of Mary Thomas Simmons. The miniature, set in gold with hair in the back, is now in the possession of William Guild Taussig of Boston.

In the preparation of such a paper, one is certain to come across interesting and important information in unexpected places, and it is just this element of discovery which makes pioneer work often seem like

Miniature, Artist Unknown

Miniature by Doyle

romance. One such example has been cited in the discovery, from the lithographic print, that Marchant painted the Millbury portrait. The miniatures belonging to Mr. Sloane and to Mr. Thomas are not signed but must have been painted by the same artist. They resemble also so closely the print which appeared in the "Freemason's Magazine" of 1811 that there can be no question that W. M. S. Doyle, whose name appears on that print as the painter, is the artist who made these two miniatures. The inscription on this print reads "Isaiah Thomas, P. G. Master of Massachusetts and Author of History of Printing," and thus proves the miniature to have been painted before 1811, and we know that Doyle was active in Boston in his profession from 1807.

The crayon profile framed, given by will to Hannah, first wife of Samuel L. Crocker, descended to Leonard C. Couch of Taunton. This portrait is now presented by Mr. Couch and myself to this Society. On the back of the frame is written in ink in the handwriting of Thomas, "Isaiah Thomas, 1804, aged 55 when this picture was taken." There is nothing to indicate the artist of this pastel, but through the energy of our librarian, Mr. Brigham, it was examined by Frank W. Bailey and Lawrence Park, both of whom feel sure that it is the work of James Sharples. In the edition of Dunlap's "History of the Arts of Design in the United States," published by Goodspeed and Bailey, it is stated that Sharples painted large numbers of distinguished people, travelling throughout the United States for that purpose. These portraits were finished in about two hours and when in profile were strikingly like the subject, but when in full face never so good. The cost in profile was $15.00, and most of these are today very valuable, but those in full face have not the same value although the original cost was $20.00.

In the possession of Mr. Francis H. Bigelow of Cambridge are two pastels, one of Thomas and the other of his wife, Mary. The size of the Thomas head is a

little larger than ours but the resemblance of these profiles to ours proves them to have been made by the same artist. A third pastel, formerly belonging to Mr. Bigelow, is of Mary, wife of Dr. Simmons and has on the back of its frame the date 1804. This would confirm the belief that these, also, were made by Sharples.

These constitute all the known portraits and prints of Isaiah Thomas which have come to my notice, and these facts regarding them have been gathered together in order to preserve in our records, before it is too late, all the definite knowledge of the likenesses of our founder that can be obtained.

In the manuscript will, which is in our archives, duly signed by Mr. Thomas and later probated, he wrote:

"As I think it the duty of every man, who is a member of any institution established for the public good, to contribute some thing in time and attention or property during his life time or otherwise by legacy for the promotion of its objects and as there are several such institutions of which I have received the honor of membership and for which I have done but little, I do will and bequeath etc, etc."

Then follow bequests to eighteen masonic, literary and historical societies as an earnest of his convictions thus expressed.

It is needless to state that, of all these bequests, the largest was to the child of his heart and brain, our own Society. Let me quote his opinion of the Society recorded in the same document:

"The American Antiquarian Society is, in some respects, different from all other societies established in the United States. Membership is restricted to no state, or party. There are no members merely honorary, but all have an equal interest and concern in its affairs and the objects of this institution, whatever part of the United States they may reside in. It is truly a national institution. It has no local views nor private concerns. Its objects (to collect and preserve) embrace all time, past, present and future.

MINIATURE BY GOODRICH

* * * The benefits resulting from the American Anitquarian Society will be increased by time and will be chiefly received by a remote posterity."

These quotations from the last will and testament of Isaiah Thomas, like the recorded acts of his long life, prove the existence of those qualities of intellect, benevolence and vision which are so perfectly portrayed in the Greenwood painting, and so well shadowed forth in the profile presented to the society this day.

List of Portraits, Prints and Other Representations of Isaiah Thomas, Senior

1. Painting by E. A. Greenwood, in 1818, for New England Museum and later the Boston Museum. Present location unknown.
2. Painting by E. A. Greenwood, in 1818, for Thomas. Gift to American Antiquarian Society.
3. Painting, copied by Henry Harding of Boston by order of Thomas, in 1828, for Alleghany College of Pennsylvania.
4. Painting, copied by Henry Harding of Boston by order of Thomas in 1828. Probably the one now in Morning Star Lodge of Worcester.
5. Painting, copied by E. D. Marchant (by order of Thomas?). Given by Thomas to his granddaughter Elizabeth C. Simmons and given by her daughters, the Misses Randall, to the Olive Branch Lodge of Millbury.
6. Painting, copied from Greenwood (by whom unknown) given by Thomas to the Leicester Academy.
7. Portrait by Henry Williams, a Boston painter who lived from 1787 to 1830. This was engraved by J. R. Smith. See below. Present location unknown.
8. Portrait by Henry Billings, location unknown. Copied on steel by S. A. Schoff. See below.
9. Portrait by W. M. S. Doyle of Boston, 1769 to 1828. He painted a miniature of Thomas, unsigned. This was given, unframed, by Thomas to his granddaughter Caroline and is now owned by Miss Margaret D. Sloane, great granddaughter of Frances (Thomas) Crocker. This was engraved by W. R. Jones by whose plate Doyle is acknowledged as the painter. See below.

10. Miniature of Thomas, set in gold, given, by codicil of 1830, to Elizabeth C. Simmons, from whose daughters it was obtained by Isaac Rand Thomas, a member of this Society and descended from Elias Thomas, an uncle of Isaiah. This must have been painted by the same artist as No. 9.
11. Miniature of Thomas, set in gold, in possession of Mrs. George R. Minot. Artist unknown. Represents Thomas as a young man.
12. Miniature of Thomas, in possession of Mrs. George R. Minot unsigned but undoubtedly by Sarah Goodrich. See No. 18.
13. Pastel by Sharples? Bequeathed to Hannah, first wife of Samuel L. Crocker. Owned by Leonard C. Couch, her grandson. Given to American Antiquarian Society.
14. Pastel, now owned by Mr. Francis H. Bigelow, who received it from the Misses Randall, by same artist as No. 13.
15. Print engraved on copper in stipple by W. R. Jones of Philadelphia, for the "Freemason's Magazine," Nov., 1811. From the Sloane miniature. Plate in American Antiquarian Society.
16. Print engraved on copper in stipple by J. R. Smith, for the "Polyanthos." August, 1814. From picture by Henry Williams. Plate in American Antiquarian Society.
17. Print engraved on steel by S. A. Schoff, from picture by Henry Billings for Buckingham's "Reminiscences," published in 1852. Plate in American Antiquarian Society.
18. Print engraved on steel by H. W. Smith, from picture by Sarah Goodrich, for second edition of "History of Printing." Plate in American Antiquarian Society.
19. Lithograph by Pendleton Brothers of Boston, from Marchant painting.
20. Etching for Society of Iconophiles.
21. Etching by J. A. J. Wilcox, for the American Antiquarian Society bookplate.
22. Marble Bust by B. H. Kinney in 1859, in American Antiquarian Society.
23. Miniature of Thomas set in gold, with hair in back. Owned by William Guild Taussig.

THE DIRECT DESCENDANTS OF ISAIAH THOMAS OF WORCESTER

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1. EVAN[1] and JANE THOMAS of Wales, came to Boston in 1640 with four children, one being named GEORGE. In Boston, they had two more children:

   i. JANE, b. May 16, 1641; m. Nov. 14, 1657, JOHN JACKSON.
   ii. DORCAS, b. Jan. 25, 1643; d. Feb. 28, 1643.

   Jane, wife of Evan, died Jan. 12, 1658 and Evan married, as second wife, the widow of Philip Kirkland in 1659 or 1660. The Boston Vital Records state that Seargant Evan Thomas died Aug. 25, 1661. Alice, the second wife, at first with some difficulty but later with profit, continued the business of Evan and she died in 1697. The records state that Evan had many children and grandchildren, one of the latter being the wife of the Rev. Joseph Belcher.

2. GEORGE[2] THOMAS, one of the children born in Wales, m. REBECCA MAVERICK. b. Jan. 1, 1660 in Chelsea. They had eight children.

   3. i. PETER, b. Feb. 6, 1681-2.
   ii. MARTHA, b. Sept. 22, 1683.
   iii. GEORGE, b. March 16, 1684-5; m. June 16, 1709, SUSANNA GUTRIDGE.
   iv. REBECCA, b. March 25, 1687.
   v. ANN, b. April 30, 1688.
   vi. DOROTHY, b. Dec. 20, 1690.
   vii. ELIZABETH, b. July 28, 1693.
   viii. MAVERICK, b. Feb. 24, 1694-5; m. JOANNA——and had four children: 1. *James*, b. Oct. 5, 1720. 2. *English*, b. Jan. 4, 1722. 3. *Love*, b. Mar. 19, 1725. 4. *George* b. July 9, 1729.

3. PETER[3] THOMAS, b. Feb. 6, 1681-2. m. twice. 1st., Nov. 2, 1704, ELIZABETH, daughter of Rev. George Burroughs. They had six children, all born in Boston. 2nd., March 1, 1719, MARY ROBY, by whom he had five children, two of whom died in infancy.

Children by first wife.

i. GEORGE, b. July 20, 1705.
ii. PETER, b.——; m. Mar. 7, 1728, KATHARINE WEBBER and had two daughters.
iii. ELIAS, b. June 4, 1710; m. July 22, 1735, HANNAH MACMILLON and had several children.
iv. ELIZABETH, b. Aug, 18, 1714. d. before 1721.
4. v. MOSES, b. Feb. 25, 1715.
vi. MARY, b.——; m. twice, 1st: March 12, 1732, THOMAS NEWMAN and had two children. 2nd: GEORGE GIBBS.

Children by second wife.

vii. ELIZABETH, b. May 31, 1721. She died unmarried.
viii. MERCY, b. Dec. 23, 1724; m. Oct. 20, 1741, GEORGE EUSTIS.
ix. WILLIAM, b. ——; m. Oct. 20, 1748, REBECCA BASS, daughter of Samuel and Christian Bass, born Dec. 27, 1727. They had a daughter *Mary*, b. June 9, 1750. She was second wife of 8. ISAIAH. William d. April 19, 1760 and Rebecca m. June 12, 1769, ZECHARIAH FOWLE who d. in 1776 and she d. in Worcester, July 17, 1803.

4. MOSES[4] THOMAS and FIDELITY GRANT were married about 1740 and had five children. Moses was born in Boston in 1715 and died in North Carolina in 1752. FIDELITY GRANT of Rhode Island was born in 1725 and died in Worcester, at the home of her son Isaiah, Jan. 17, 1798. She married June 12, 1764, EBENEZER BLACKMAN of Westcambridge and they had a daughter, Mary, who married and lived in Westcambridge. MOSES and FIDELITY had five children, two being born at Hempstead, Long Island and brought up there.

The other three were born in Boston.

i. ELIZABETH, . m. at Hempstead and went to the West Indies.
5. ii. PETER.
6. iii. JOSHUA, b. March 3, 1745.
7. iv. SUSANNA AMELIA, b. 1747.
8. v. ISAIAH, b. Jan. 19, 1749.

5. PETER[5] THOMAS, lived at Hempstead. He was twice married. By his first wife, he had two sons, John and Amos. John died at the age of 17 and Amos became a sailor. By the second wife, he had one daughter, Elizabeth, born Jan. 10, 1785. She was formally adopted by her uncle Isaiah and later married, Dec. 9, 1811, Stephen T. Soper of Boston. She died at Braintree, July 12, 1813. Peter also had by second wife a son Isaiah, who died in infancy.

6. JOSHUA[5] THOMAS, born March 3, 1745 in Boston, married twice. 1st. MARY TWING of Brighton, Mass. and had by her seven children. She died in Lancaster, May 27, 1808. 2nd. MARY ARMSTRONG, daughter of John Armstrong of Boston. Joshua lived at Arlington for many years and finally went to Lancaster where he died, Feb. 4, 1831.

7. SUSANNA[5] AMELIA THOMAS, b. 1747, married four times, the last husband being CAPT. HUGH MCCULLOUCH of Philadelphia. She, again a widow, died on Feb. 20, 1815.

8. ISAIAH[5] THOMAS, born Jan. 19, 1749, in Boston was apprenticed by his mother on June 4, 1756 to Zachariah Fowle and brought up as a printer. He lived in Boston until 1775 when, because of his newspaper activities in behalf of the Colonies, he moved to Worcester. He gave up active work as a printer, in 1802. In 1810 he published a "History of Printing" and founded the American Antiquarian Society in 1812. He received the honorary degree of A. M. in 1814, from Dartmouth College, and that of LL.D. in 1818, from Alleghany College of Pennsylvania. He died, April 4, 1831, in Worcester.

   He married three times: 1st. Dec. 25, 1769, in Charleston, S. C., MARY, daughter of Joseph and Anne Dill, of Bermuda, and had three children. He was divorced from her in 1777 by decree of the Supreme

Court of Mass. 2nd. May 26, 1779, in Boston, MARY FOWLE, who died in Worcester, Nov. 16, 1818. She was daughter of William and Rebecca (Bass) Thomas and was born June 9, 1750. She married, May 11, 1769, Isaac Fowle and had two daughters, Rebecca T., b. Feb. 4, 1770., d. Dec. 6, 1773 in New York, and Dorothea Whitmarsh, b. Nov. 5, 1771, d. Sept. 10, 1772. Isaac Fowle died in the Continental Army in 1777. 3rd. Aug. 10, 1819, in Boston, REBECCA ARMSTRONG, daughter of John and Christian Armstrong of Boston.

Her mother, Christian, was daughter of Samuel and Christian Bass whose other daughter, Rebecca, wife of William Thomas, had a daughter Mary, who was the second wife of Isaiah and they were thus cousins. She, born in 1757, died Oct. 21, 1828, in Roxbury.

Children by first wife.

i. Son, stillborn, Sept. 1770.
9. ii. MARY ANNE, b. March 27, 1772.
10. iii. ISAIAH, JUN. b. Sept. 5, 1773.

9. MARY ANNE[6] THOMAS, daughter of Isaiah and Mary (Dill) Thomas, b. March 27, 1772, in Boston.

While living with her uncle, Joshua, she was admitted to the Precinct Church in Arlington (Menotomy), and baptized Aug. 21, 1791. After her first marriage, she was dismissed to the first church in Springfield, where she went with her husband. She was married three times. 1st. In Arlington, at her uncle's on Jan. 16, 1792, to JAMES R. HUTCHINS of Windsor, Vt. He was a printer and published the "Federal Spy" in Springfield from 1793-96, when he sold it. In 1795 he printed books in Worcester but after that time his career is not known. 2nd. On Oct. 1, 1797, to SAMUEL MATHER, who was b. March 19, 1773 in Whately, Mass., 3rd. In Worcester, May 7, 1805, to DR. LEVI SIMMONS. They lived in St. Albans, Vt., where her children by this marriage were born, and later in Burlington. She was divorced from both second and third husbands by decree of the Supreme Court of Vt.

Child by second marriage.

i. VALERIA, b. Nov. 24, 1801. She married SAMUEL WILLIAMS of Burlington, Vt., in April, 1818.

Children by third marriage.

ii. ISAIAH, b. July 24, 1806; d. March 7, 1808.
11. iii. MARY THOMAS, b. Sept. 17, 1808.
iv. ISAIAH THOMAS, b. April 20, 1810. He was educated as a printer by his grandfather, and it is said that he worked at his trade in Little Falls, N. Y.
12. v. ELIZABETH CORNELIA, b. Feb. 12, 1813.

The Mss. records prepared by Isaiah Thomas, senior, and placed by him in the library of the American Antiquarian Society state that another child by one of her marriages was named Babbet (Barbara) but no other trace of such child has been found in record or tradition.

10. ISAIAH[6] THOMAS, JUN., born, Sept. 5, 1773 in Boston. He lived in Worcester from 1779 to 1810, when he moved to Boston where he died, June 25, 1819, in consequence of an accident. He married, in May 1797, MARY, daughter of Edward Weld of Boston formerly of Marblehead. He was educated as a printer by his father and bought out his business in 1802. He moved this business to Boston in 1810 where he continued until his death. His wife died, April 26, 1825, in Boston.

They had twelve children, six daughters and then six sons.

i. Daughter, stillborn, Feb. 5, 1798.
ii. MARY REBECCA, b. July 6, 1799; d. June 17, 1859 in Boston. She m. May 23, 1821, HON. PLINY MERRICK. He was b. Aug. 2, 1794 and d. Feb. 1, 1867 in Boston. They had no children.
13. iii. FRANCES CHURCH, b. Aug. 12, 1800.
iv. AUGUSTA WELD, b. Aug. 1, 1801; d. Aug. 19, 1822 in Taunton. She never married.
14. v. CAROLINE, b. Sept. 26, 1802.
15. vi. HANNAH WELD, b. Oct. 25, 1803.
vii. ISAIAH, b. Dec. 11, 1804; d. Oct. 4, 1805 in Worcester.
16. viii. ISAIAH, b. Nov. 29, 1805.

17. ix. WILLIAM, b. April 11, 1808.
    x. EDWARD WELD, b. Feb. 15, 1810; d. Oct. 4, 1810 in Worcester.
    xi. EDWARD ISAIAH, b. Nov. 11, 1811, in Boston; m. HARRIET, daughter of Bishop Brownell of Hartford and d. on his wedding journey at Saratoga.
18. xii. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, b. Jan. 25, 1813.
    The last two were born in Boston the others in Worcester.

11. MARY[7] SIMMONS, b. Sept. 17, 1808 in St. Albans; d. Nov. 21-1873 in New Orleans. She married twice: 1st. A. DEMING of Montpelier, Vt., The diary of Isaiah Thomas (Sept. 1, 1826) reads "aged 18, and lately married." 2nd. COL. ALBERT GALLATIN TARLETON of Benton, Ala. They had six children. He was a confederate soldier, although of northern sympathies, and was killed with his four sons in the same year. She went to New Orleans, lived with her daughter and died there of yellow fever in 1873.

Children of second marriage:

i. JAMES.
ii. THOMAS.
iii. MOSES.
iv. JOHN.
These sons were killed during the Civil War the same year as their father.
v. JANE, who married MR. NELSON of Montreal.
vi. CORNELIA FERRIS, b. July 29, 1841 in Vermont; m FRANCIS MCKEOUGH. They lived in New Orleans and had a son, *John*, who died at the age of four. She died, a widow, October 12, 1911, in New Orleans.

12. ELIZABETH[7] CORNELIA SIMMONS, b. Feb. 12, 1813 in St. Albans; d. July 8, 1891 in Boston. She married, Nov. 23, 1831, ABRAHAM GARLAND RANDALL and lived in Millbury, Mass. He was born Jan. 19, 1804 in Manchester, Mass., and died in 1878. He entered Yale in 1822, but transferred his studies to Harvard, where his father, Rev. Abraham Randall graduated in 1798. He continued with the Class of 1826. He was admitted to the Worcester County bar in 1831 and practiced law in

Millbury until 1860 when he moved his office to Worcester. He was, in 1849, postmaster of Millbury.

Children:

i. CLARA ELIZABETH b. Dec. 7, 1838, now living in Boston.
ii. MARY THOMAS, b. May 9, 1845, now living in Boston.

13. FRANCES[7] CHURCH THOMAS, b. in Worcester, Aug. 12, 1800; d. in Staten Island, Apr. 23, 1868. She married, Nov. 10, 1824, WILLIAM ALLEN CROCKER of Taunton. He was b. in Taunton, March 14, 1801; d. in New York, May 13, 1871. He was in Class of 1822 at Brown University, was a Trustee from 1841-1871, and lived in Taunton from 1824 to 1863, when he moved to Staten Island and in 1868 to New York. He was a prominent business man in Taunton, establishing many important industries and taking an active part in the growth of the city.

They had eleven children, all born in Taunton.

Children:

i. WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, b. Aug. 5, 1825; d. Aug. 18, 1825.
ii. WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, b. July 4, 1826; d. Feb. 26, 1828.
iii. SALLY AUGUSTA, b. Sept. 29, 1827; d. Feb. 22, 1828.
19. iv. FRANCES THOMAS, b. Feb. 19, 1829.
v. ISAIAH THOMAS, b. Feb. 3, 1830; d. Aug. 10, 1830.
20. vi. GEORGE AUGUSTUS, b. Sept. 1, 1831.
vii. ELIZABETH ANDREWS BAYLIES, b. Dec. 23, 1834; d. Feb. 9, 1910. She was unmarried.
21. viii. WILLIAM BAYLIES, b. July 22, 1836.
ix. MARY AUGUSTA, b. July 26, 1839; d. Mar. 17, 1916. Unmarried.
x. HARRIET BEHLING, b. Nov. 26, ; d. March 17, 1846.
xi. LOUISA MARSTON, b. Sept. 18, 1844. Unmarried, living in New York.

14. CAROLINE[7] THOMAS, b. Sept. 26, 1802; d. about 1875. She married, as second wife, HON. SAMUEL LEONARD CROCKER of Taunton, who was born there Mar. 31, 1804, and died in Boston, Feb. 10, 1883. He graduated from Brown University in the Class of 1822, was elected a Trustee in 1882, to which office he never qualified because of his sickness and death the following year.

He was a man of large affairs in Taunton, aided in its industries and was in the National House of Representatives from 1853 to 1855.

They had three children, all born in Taunton.

22. i. SALLY, b. Nov. 24, 1832.
23. ii. SAMUEL LEONARD, JR., b. May 25, 1835.
iii. ELLEN, b. about 1843; d. July 1904, in Boston; m. in 1870 GEORGE GORDON CROCKER. No children. He was in Class of 1855, Harvard.

15. HANNAH[7] WELD THOMAS, b. Oct. 5, 1803, in Worcester; d. Nov. 22, 1827. m. June 14, 1825, as first wife, HON. SAMUEL LEONARD CROCKER.

Child:

24. MARY CAROLINE. b. May 1826.

16. ISAIAH[7] THOMAS, b. Nov. 29, 1805. d. lost at sea in 1862. He, graduate of Harvard, Class of 1825, married, May 30, 1831 MARY ANN, eldest daughter of Nathaniel Reeder of Virginia. She was born, June 3, 1808 and died, March 19, 1851. They had nine children. He was appointed by President Lincoln Consul to Algiers and sailed with three children on S. S. Milwaukee in Feb., 1862, for Havre, but the ship was never heard from.

Children:

i. MARY LOUISE, b. Feb. 26, 1832, at Cincinnati; d. Feb. 16, 1833.
25. ii. EDWARD ISAIAH, b. Nov. 19, 1833, at Cincinnati.
iii. ELIZABETH ANDREWS, b. Dec. 1, 1835, at Cincinnati; d. May 23, 1842.
iv. AUGUSTA WELD, b. Jan. 13, 1838 at Cincinnati; d. Feb. 18, 1838.
v. MARY CAROLINE, b. Jan. 26, 1839 at Detroit; d. at sea in 1862.
vi. HENRY CLAY, b. May 18, 1841 at Detroit; d. at sea in 1862.
26. vii. WILLIAM REEDER, b. July 18, 1843 at Mt. Auburn, Ohio.
viii. PLINY MERRICK, b. Mar. 17, 1847 at Springfield, O; d. lost at sea in 1862.
ix. ALICE, b. May 16, 1849 at Springfield; d. April 15, 1852.

17. WILLIAM[7] THOMAS, b. April 11, 1808 in Worcester; d. in Longwood, June, 1872. He married twice, 1st. in Aug., 1831, CATHERINE, daughter of Calvin and Naomi Crombie. She died June 16, 1838 in Boston. 2nd. Aug. 28, 1839, CORNELIA JANE, daughter of Benjamin Bangs.

There were no children by this marriage.

Children by first wife:

27. i. HELEN, b. Sept. 8, 1832.
28. ii. MARY MERRICK, b. July 31, 1834.
iii. CATHERINE CROMBIE, b. June 15, 1836; d. Nov. 28, 1918;

18. BENJAMIN[7] FRANKLIN THOMAS, b. Feb. 12, 1813 in Boston; d. Sept. 27, 1878, in Beverly. He graduated from Brown, Class of 1830, and received the degree of LL.D. from Brown in 1853, and from Harvard in 1854. He was a Trustee of Brown from 1874 to 1878 and its Chancellor during that time. He was on the Supreme Bench of Mass. 1853-59, and in the National House of Representatives, from 1861 to 1863. He m. MARY ANNE, daughter of John and Agnes Park of Worcester, on Oct. 1, 1835. She died Nov. 13, 1885, in Boston.

Children:

29. i. AGNES PARK, b. July 19, 1837.
ii. PLINY MERRICK, b. Aug. 24, 1839; d. Feb. 28, 1883.
iii. MARY, b. Jan. 25, 1841; d. July 20, 1920. Never married.
iv. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, JR., b. Oct. 11, 1842; d. July 21, 1861.
v. JOHN PARK, b. Feb. 23, 1845; d. Oct. 18, 1870.
vi. AUGUSTA, b. Feb. 23, 1848; d. July 25, 1848.
30. vii. WILLIAM, b. Sept. 5, 1853.
31. viii. ISAIAH, b. Sept. 24, 1855; d. April 10, 1890.

19. FRANCES[6] THOMAS CROCKER, b. Feb. 19, 1829 in Taunton; d. Oct. 16, 1874 in Brookline. m. April 12, 1855 WILLIAM RUSSELL PAINE who was b. Jan. 26, 1823 in Worcester and d. Jan. 9, 1877 in Brookline.

Children:

i. LILLIE CROCKER, b. May 11, 1856; d. Feb. 19, 1905.
ii. MARY PICKFORD, b. Dec. 5, 1858; d. April 28, 1859.
iii. FRANCES THOMAS, b. Sept. 6, 1861.
iv. BESSIE STURGIS, b. Dec. 15, 1862.
v. FREDERICK WILLIAM, b. Feb. 22, 1866; m. Nov. 2, 1910 in Providence, R. I., ELIZABETH HARRIET (LYNCH) PEGRAM. No children.

20. GEORGE[8] AUGUSTUS CROCKER, b. Sept. 1, 1831; m. Jan. 26, 1875, LEAH REESE. d. Oct. 20, 1906.

Children:

i. JACOB REESE, b. Jan. 1, 1876; m. and lives in Cleveland.
ii. FRANCES CHURCH, b. Aug. 23, 1877; m. Nov. 22, 1904. WILLIAM SLOANE of New York. Child *Margaret Douglas*, b. June 28, 1910.
iii. GEORGE AUGUSTUS, JR., b. Aug. 6, 1880; m. ELIZABETH MASTEN of New York. Children: 1. *Arthur Masten*, b. March 6, 1909. 2. *William Reese*, b. June 17, 1919.

21. WILLIAM[8] BAYLIES CROCKER, b. July 22, 1836. A. M., Brown, 1856. m. ALICE FELLOWES in 1866. He d. January 1886.

Children:

i. ROBERT IVES, d. in 1915, unmarried.
ii. WILLIAM BAYLIES, JR., unmarried in Cleveland.

22. SALLY[8] CROCKER, b. Nov. 24, 1832 in Taunton; d. Oct. 11, 1911. m. June 29, 1853 EDMUND HATCH BENNETT of Taunton. He was born in Manchester, Vt., April 6, 1824. d. Jan. 2, 1898. A. B., Univ. of Vt., 1848. LL.D., in 1872 from same college. Judge of Probate, Bristol County, many years. First Mayor of Taunton. Dean of Law School of Boston University.

They had four children:

i. CAROLINE, b. Oct. 6, 1854; d. July 25, 1855.
ii. EDMUND NEVILLE, b. May 23, 1856; d. May 28, 1881 while at Brown University.
35. iii. SAMUEL CROCKER, b. April 19, 1858. See number 35.
32. iv. MARY ANDREWS, b. Jan. 18, 1861.

23. SAMUEL[8] LEONARD CROCKER, JR. b. May 25, 1835. A. M Brown, 1856. LL.B., 1859, Harvard. d. May 27, 1904, at Naples, Italy. m. May 25, 1885 in Italy, CLEMENTINA CIOFFI. A widow, she m. Edgar W. Smith.

Children:

i. ALICE LEAVENWORTH, b. 1891; m. PERCY G. SMITH of Montpelier, Vt. Children: 1. *Emma Crocker*, b. 1916. 2. *Samuel Crocker*, b. 1917.

ii. SAMUEL LEONARD, JR., b. 1893; m. RUTH BIGELOW. Children: 1. *Nina Bigelow*. 2. *Lucille Ruth*.

24. MARY[8] CAROLINE CROCKER, b. May 1826. m. MAJOR GENERAL DARIUS NASH COUCH of Taunton in 1854. He was born July 23, 1822, and graduated from West Point in 1846. He was a Lieutenant in the Mexican War and Colonel at beginning of the Civil War. Later he was General in command of a division in the Army of the Potomac— the division later headed by Gen. Devens. He had charge of the ceremonies at Gettysburg when Lincoln delivered his address. He, later, resigned from the army and lived in Norwalk, Conn.

Children:

33. i. ALICE LEAVENWORTH, b. July 5, 1855.

34. ii. LEONARD CROCKER, b. 1857.

25. EDWARD[8] ISAIAH THOMAS, b. Nov. 19, 1833 at Cincinnati. m. Dec. 31, 1857 in Boston, HENRIETTA WILLIAMS, daughter of Henry and Almira Briggs. She was a descendant of Roger Williams. d. Jan. 22, 1905 at Brookline where her husband d. Dec. 26, 1890.

Children:

i. ADA, b. March 14, 1860 at Brookline; m. Oct. 18, 1882, LIVINGSTON CUSHING who was born June 1856. He was of Class of 1879, Harvard and had LL. B. in 1882. He died in 1916. They had no children.

35. ii. AMY REEDER, b. Feb. 4, 1862, at Brookline.

36. iii. BERTHA WILLIAMS, b. Jan. 2, 1869, at Brookline.

26. WILLIAM[6] REEDER THOMAS, b. July 18, 1843 at Cincinnati; m. HARRIET D. TRUMBULL of New York. They had two children.

Children:

i. KATHARINE TRUMBULL, b. Nov. 26, 1892; m. Jan. 20, 1916, LESLIE B. COOPER of Morristown, N. J. Child, b. 1920.
ii. WILLIAM TRUMBULL, b. May 12, 1894, unmarried.

27. HELEN[6] THOMAS, b. Sept. 8, 1832. m. June 5, 1862, CHARLES MAYO ELLIS. She d. Dec. 28, 1878. They had two children.

Children:

i. WILLIAM THOMAS, b. Aug. 14, 1865; d. Oct. 15, 1865.
ii. HELEN, b. May 4, 1870; m. June 5, 1893, REV. STOPFORD BROOKE, later M.P. for Cranleigh. Children: 1. *Somerset Stopford*, b. June 16, 1906. 2. *Edith House Stopford*, b. Feb. 14, 1911.

28. MARY[6] MERRICK THOMAS, b. July 31, 1834, who d. in Nov. 1915. m. twice, 1st. Sept. 13, 1860, GEORGE DWIGHT GUILD, Class of 1845, Harvard, who d. 1862. 2nd. WILLIAM H. GORHAM, M.D., Harvard, 1850, who d. in Florence, April, 1895. No children by this marriage.

Child by first marriage.

37. i. EDITH THOMAS, b. Sept. 22, 1861.

29. AGNES[6] PARK THOMAS, b. July 19, 1837. m. RICHARD OLNEY of Oxford, who was born there Sept. 5, 1835. He graduated from Brown University in 1856 and received the degree of LL. D. 1893, Harvard. He was member of Board of Fellows at Brown from 1894 to 1897. Attorney General of United States from 1893 to 1895 and Secretary of State from 1895 to 1897. He d. April 1917 and his wife d. Jan. 25, 1919.

Children:

38. i. AGNES, b. Dec. 3, 1861.
39. ii. MARY, b. Aug. 15, 1864.

30. WILLIAM[8] THOMAS, b. Sept. 5, 1853. Class of 1873, Harvard LL.B. 1878. Overseer of Harvard from 1916- m. EMMA A. GAY of Ashland, Mass.

Children:

i. MOLLY, b. 1875; m. LATHAM MCMULLIN. Child: *Virginia.*
ii. HELEN, b. 1878; m. FRED W. KIMBLE. Child: *Barbara.*
iii. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, b. 1880; m. CHARLOTTE M. EVANS. Children: 1. *Charlotte,* died in infancy. 2. *Mary Emma.* 3. *Grace.*
iv. GRACE, b. 1887; d. 1890.
v. GERTRUDE, b. 1891; m. ROGER BOQUERAZ. Children: 1. *Jeannie.* 2. *Marie Louise.*

31. ISAIAH[8] THOMAS, b. Sept. 24, 1855 in Worcester; d. April 10, 1890 in Goffstown, N. H. He entered Harvard with the Class of 1872 but did not graduate because of ill health. He married, Dec. 27, 1875, at Nashua, N. H., CAROLINE WARE, daughter of George and Elizabeth Lane of Newton. They lived at Goffstown, until his death. His widow married, in 1894, Rev. Cyrus W. Heizer of Wayland and they moved to Ithaca, N. Y. where he died in a few years when she returned to Newton.

Children:

40. i. ELIZABETH, b. April 12, 1877 in Manchester, N. H.
ii. MARIAN, b. August 12, 1879; d. Sept. 27, 1880.

32. MARY[9] ANDREWS BENNETT, b. Jan. 18, 1861. m. Nov. 12, 1884 WILLIAM MERRITT CONANT, M.D. He was born Jan. 5, 1856, at Attleboro, R. I. Class of 1879, Harvard and M.D., 1884. Children born in Boston except Ira.

Children:

i. RUTH, b. Sept. 14, 1885; m. June 10, 1909 CLARENCE MASON JOYCE.
ii. EDMUND BENNETT, b. Dec. 6, 1886; m. Oct. 11, 1911 ELEANOR EASTMAN HAWKESWORTH. Child: *Robert H.* b. Aug. 25, 1913.
iii. IRA MERRITT, b. Aug. 17, 1888 at Bridgewater. m. Nov. 12, 1914, GRACE MADELEINE LOUD.

iv. WILLIAM MERRITT, b. Mar. 23, 1891; m. June 4, 1919. DINSMORE PATRICK. Child, *Mary Wolcott*, b. June 9, 1920.

v. EDITH WATERS, b. Aug. 6, 1896.

33. ALICE[9] LEAVENWORTH COUCH, b. July 5, 1855; d. July 4, 1884. m. June 8, 1881 H. LEROY RANDALL of New Milford, Conn.

Children:

i. ALICE NEVILLE, b. May 5, 1882; m. June 1, 1907, GEORGE H. ALLEN of Buffalo, N.Y. Children: 1. *GeorgeRandall*, b. April 26, 1908. 2. *Richard LeRoy* ,b. Nov. 4, 1910. 3. *Charles Bowker* ,b. April 10, 1914. 4. *David William*, b. June 9, 1916. 5. *Ethel Jane*, b. March 22, 1918. 6. *Maria Caroline*, b. June 6, 1920.

ii. CHARLES COUCH, b. June 25, 1884; d. July, 1885.

34. LEONARD[9] CROCKER COUCH, b. 1857. m. in 1882, CECILIA MAY FRANCIS of Taunton.

Children:

i. CECIL THOMAS, b. 1883.

ii. CAROLINE AVIS, b. 1885.

iii. DARIUS NASH, b.

35. AMY[9] REEDER THOMAS, b. Feb. 4, 1862. m. Sept. 9, 1885, SAMUEL C., son of Judge Bennett of Taunton.

Children:

i. EDMUND NEVILLE, b. Aug. 31, 1887. Harvard, 1910.

ii. SAMUEL CROCKER, JR., b. Mar. 18, 1890. Harvard, 1912. m. April 21, 1917, ELIZABETH JACKSON.

iii. ROGER WILLIAMS, b. Feb. 3, 1892. Harvard, 1913.

iv. BARBARA, b. Dec. 30, 1893; m. June 26, 1920 LOUIS CAPPEL ZAHNER.

v. ROSAMOND THOMAS, b. Nov. 13, 1895.

vi. THOMAS DACRE, b. Dec. 7, 1900.

36. BERTHA[9] WILLIAMS THOMAS, b. Jan. 2, 1869. m. Apr. 4, 1894, EDWARD M. BEALS, he b. March 30, 1868.

Children:

i. MADELAINE THOMAS, b. Aug. 16, 1900.

ii. EDWARD MAURAN, JR., b. May 25, 1902.

37. EDITH[9] THOMAS GUILD, b. Sept. 22, 1861; d. Apr. 15, 1910. m. June 29, 1888, PROF. FRANK W. TAUSSIG of Harvard College, Class of 1879. Ph. D. & A. M. 1883, and LL.B. in 1886 from Harvard.

Children:

i. WILLIAM GUILD, b. May 3, 1889; m. Jan. 5, 1918, BEATRICE MURRAY of England. She b. Dec. 1, 1891.
ii. MARY GUILD, b. May 8, 1892; m. Nov. 10, 1918, GERARD CARL HENDEREN of New York.
iii. CATHERINE CROMBIE, b. Dec. 7, 1896.
iv. HELEN BROOKE, b. May 24, 1898.

38. AGNES[9] OLNEY, b. Dec. 3, 1861. m. Oct. 28, 1890, GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT, Class of 1871, Harvard. He b. Mar. 3, 1849; d. 1894.

Child:

FRANCIS, b. Nov. 8, 1891; m. Apr. 30, 1914, ISABEL QUACKENBUSH. Child: *Agnes Olney*, b. July 17, 1915.

39. MARY[9] OLNEY, b. Aug. 15, 1864. m. Oct. 9, 1886, CHARLES HENRY ABBOTT, D.D.S. Harvard, 1885. He b. Sept. 6, 1862 in Berlin.

Children:

i. MARY PERKINS, b. March 22, 1888 in Berlin.
ii. FRANCIS PEABODY, b. Aug. 15, 1889 in Berlin. Class of 1914, Harvard.
iii. CHARLES BENJAMIN, b. June 6, 1892 in Berlin. Class of 1911, Harvard.
iv. AGNES Ann, b. Aug. 24, 1897 in Boston.

40. ELIZABETH[9] THOMAS, b. April 12, 1877. m. April 12, 1895 in Boston at the home of her guardian, Miss Mary Thomas, to FREDERIC CHRISTOPHER DUMAINE. They had seven children, all born in Concord, Mass.

Children:

i. MARY THOMAS, b. April 19, 1897.
ii. ELIZABETH, b. January 3, 1900.
iii. HARRIETTE RODMAN, b. March 12, 1901.
iv. FREDERIC C., JR., b. Sept. 5, 1902.
v. CORDELIA, b. Feb. 17, 1907.
vi CHRISTOPHER, b. April 6, 1910.
vii. PIERRE, b. August 21, 1912.

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

BY ARTHUR LORD

THE incident in Pilgrim history often selected as best representing the idea of civil liberty and local self-government is the signing of the Compact.

The poet and the artist are more successful than are the historians in preserving and symbolizing some of the great events of human history. The canvas of Sargent portrays and the verses of Mrs. Hemans describe their ideas of the Landing at Plymouth rather than what in fact happened on the Plymouth shore on the 21st of December, 1620. But the picture and the poem have impressed themselves upon the popular imagination and best describe the idea of the Landing which is held apparently by the great majority of English-speaking people who have occasion to consider that event.

Monuments are erected, historical and hereditary patriotic societies meet on the 21st day of successive Novembers to commemorate the signing of the Compact on that day in 1620, because the Compact expresses and typifies to them that ideal of civil liberty and pure democratic government which Theodore Parker first expressed in the line which Lincoln made famous:—

"Government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

In 1841, Dr. Alexander Young, the learned annalist and editor of "The Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers," printed therein, under the title of "Bradford and Winslow's Journal, A Diary of Events from November 9, 1622 to December 11, 1621," that early relation of events usually cited as "Mourt's Relation," published in London in 1622.

In "Mourt's Relation," which contains the earliest printed reference to the instrument now known as the "Mayflower Compact," it is stated that "This day before we came to harbor, observing some not well affected to unity and concord but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement that we should combine together in one body and to submit to such government and governors as we should by common consent agree to make and choose and set our hand to this that follows word for word." Then appears for the first time in print the familiar Compact.

In Dr. Young's note to that extract from "Mourt's Relation" he says—

> "And yet it seems to me that a good deal more has been discerned in this document than the signers contemplated. * * Their purpose in drawing up and signing this compact was merely, as they state, to restrain certain of their number who had manifested an unruly and factious disposition. This was the whole philosophy of the instrument, whatever may since have been discovered and deduced from it by astute civilians, philosophical historians and imaginative orators."

Since I first read this statement of Dr. Young some years ago, I have given some consideration to the real meaning, purpose and effect of this agreement, as Bradford terms it, the circumstances which occasioned it, and the form of government adopted by the Pilgrims before leaving England, under the provisions of their patent. The result of that inquiry I take this occasion to submit for your consideration.

It may be noted in the first place that this instrument was not signed in the harbor of Provincetown, as often erroneously stated. The statements of Bradford and Winslow in "Mourt's Relation" that the instrument was executed "before we came to harbor," is conclusive.

It is an interesting fact that the term "compact" apparently was not applied to that instrument before 1793. The elaborate researches of Mr. Albert

Matthews and Mr. George E. Bowman show no earlier references. Mr. Bowman notes that the word "compact," as applied to this agreement, first appears in "A Topographical Description of Duxborough, in the County of Plymouth," by Alden Bradford, which was published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society's first series, Volume 2:

"John Alden, who came to Plymouth in 1620, was one of the signers of the compact established immediately upon the arrival of the first settlers," etc.

The reference to the instrument found in "Mourt's Relation," describes it as "an association and agreement." Bradford, in his History of Plymouth Plantation, (Ford, Volume 1, Page 189,) refers to it as a "combination made by them before they came, a shore," and states that it was—

"Occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship; That when they came ashore, they would use their owne libertie, for none had power to command them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New england, which belonged to another Government with which the Virginia company had nothing to doe"

And in the Plymouth Colony Records, the same term "combination" is used. In Prince's Chronological History, he refers to it as "a solemn contract," and the Rev. Charles Turner, in his sermon at the church in Plymouth in 1774, describes it as "the covenant." The Rev. Chandler Robbins defines it as "a solemn contract" in his Anniversary Sermon in 1793.

The first historian or orator who found in it the meaning and importance which is sometimes given to it at the present time, when referred to in public addresses, was John Quincy Adams, in his oration at Plymouth in 1802.

The most complete account of the cause and effect of the Compact, and the one which most fully and accurately defines the antecedent procedure of the

Pilgrims in the matter of civil government, written by an historian of the 17th century, is by the Rev. William Hubbard in that manuscript history which secured for the author a grant from the General Court of fifty pounds in 1682, "as a manifestation of thankfulness" for his work.

He was born in 1621, graduated in the first Harvard Class of 1642, and settled in the ministry at Ipswich in 1656 or 1657, and died in 1704. He is described as "a learned and ingenious author," by the Rev. Thomas Prince.

The Rev. John Eliot, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts and the old Colony of Plymouth" pays to William Hubbard this high compliment: "He was the best writer in New England while he lived; learned, judicious and capable of giving a proper arrangement to his facts." (M. H. S. Coll. First Series, Vol. VII, page 263.) Hubbard writes:

"That which our Savior once affirmed concerning a kingdom is as true of the smallest colony, or puny state, or least society of mankind, that if it be divided against itself it cannot stand; and how can divisions be avoided where all sorts of people are to be at their liberty, whether in things civil or sacred, to do all that doth, and nothing but what doth, seem good in their own eyes. Our first founders of this new colony, were aware of this, before they removed themselves from the parts of Europe, whether England or Holland, to those of America, and, therefore, according to the prudent advice of Mr. Robinson, their Pastor, they had procured a Patent for themselves, or had a power granted from their Sovereign Prince, whereby they might form themselves into a body politic in the place specified in their Patent. But missing of the place, the things contained therein were utterly invalidated, and made useless thereby, which they wisely considered in the first place, as was said before, and therefore they all signed an instrument, concerning some way of order and government, which they, according as necessity required, intended to mould themselves into, upon the first opportunity which should offer itself, after they found a place of habitation fit to settle upon. By the aforesaid accident, things so fell out, that for the present they could not fall into any order of government, but by way of combination; with which they intended to content themselves till occasion might serve for the obtaining another Patent from

the King, for that place where Providence now had cast their lot. For the present, therefore, they devolved the sole power of government upon Mr. John Carver, in whose prudence they so far confided, that he would not adventure upon any matter of moment without consent of the rest, or at least advice of such as were thought to be the wisest amongst them, and not to increase the number of rulers where the persons were so few to be ruled; knowing also that they could at their pleasure add more as there might be occasion, much better than to have eased themselves of the burden, if they should pitch upon too many at first. One Nehemiah is better than a whole Sanhedrim of mercenary Shemaiahs.

"The Laws they intended to be governed by were the Laws of England, the which they were willing to be subject unto, though in a foreign land, and have since that time continued in that mind for the general, adding only some particular municipal laws of their own, suitable to their constitution in such cases where the common laws and statutes of England could not well reach or afford them help in emergent difficulties of the place, possibly on the same ground that Pacuvius sometimes advised his neighbors of Capua, not to cashier their old magistrates till they could agree upon better to place in their room. So did these choose to abide by the Laws of England, till they could be provided of better."

This statement of Hubbard's that their combination or compact was the instrument merely "with which they intended to content themselves till occasion might serve for the obtaining another Patent from the King, for that place where Providence now had cast their lot," is a clear statement by one of the foremost authorities of that century in which the Compact was written that the instrument was but a temporary expedient, based upon the scheme of a body politic found in their first patent and described by Robinson in his letter hereafter referred to, and entirely superseded upon the arrival of the second patent, defining their powers and conferring an authority which they fully recognized as of superior weight.

The text of the Compact varies slightly in punctuation and a few verbal changes not material to the enquiry, as printed in "Mourt's Relation," Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," and Morton's

"New England's Memoriall." In "Mourt's Relation" it is printed as follows:

"In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal Subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith. &c.

Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and honour of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the northerne parts of Virginia, doe, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God & one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equall Lawes, Ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony: unto which, we promise all due submission and obedience.

In witnesse whereof we have here-under subscribed our names, Cape Cod, 11 of November, in the yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord King James, of England France and Ireland 18. and of Scotland 54. Anno Domino 1620."

Its recitals follow the formal phrasing of the time and describe its signers as the loyal subjects of the King of England. It states the purpose of their undertaking to be for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith and honor of our King and country, and to plant the first colony in the northern part of Virginia. Then follows the expression not unlike that found in the Church covenant, "We do by those presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and of one another covenant and combine ourselves together."

The political agreement follows the phraseology of the religious agreement. It presents in form the Church covenant idea, and properly uses the term covenant. The material provisions of the Compact, which follow, are three in number: first, the organization of a civil body politic for certain definite purposes (a) their better ordering, (b) their preservation, (c) the glory of God and the honor of King and country,

and (d) the planting of a colony in the northern part of Virginia; secondly, to enact, constitute and frame just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices from time to time as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; and thirdly, their promise to pay to these just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices all due submission and obedience.

It may be here noted that the promise was a cautious and a qualified one. There was no unlimited and unrestricted submission and obedience pledged to any law, ordinance, act or constitution which might be framed, or to any office which might hereafter be established, for it was distinctly provided that their submission and obedience was to just and equal laws, ordinances and constitutions. Was the individual Pilgrim or were a majority of the Pilgrims, or all of the Pilgrims, to determine whether the law, to which they pledged submission and obedience, was just and equal or not? Was the law to be enacted by all or a part of the Company? Was it necessary before the law became effective and compulsory that all should assent to it, or was the law enacted by a majority binding on the minority? Some ingenuity has been exercised by commentators upon the importance of the qualifying adjectives "just" and "equal," and high praise paid to the wisdom and foresight which thus defined the laws which they were to enact and promised to obey. But that qualification had but a brief life in the history of legislation, colonial, provincial, state and national. It lasted with the Pilgrims not later than the arrival of the Fortune in 1621.

Over the entrance of your Court House, I note the fine line, "Obedience to Law is Liberty." If you had written in the words "just and equal laws," in place of "Law," its meaning and effect would be materially changed. When the will of the majority is expressed in law today, the only relief from its provisions,

which may seem to some unjust or unequal, is that the law as enacted is unconstitutional. If the law were not binding on anybody who thought it unjust and unequal, we should not proceed far with its strict enforcement. If we assume that the Pilgrim meant that all laws passed by the majority were of a necessity just and equal and binding upon a recalcitrant minority, then the phrase was unnecessary and unfortunate. If we assume that the recalcitrant minority were to determine whether the law was just and equal before it submitted to and obeyed it, then majority rule is an idle term and government by the majority hopeless and ineffective. There is no record of any law, constitution, act or ordinance framed and enacted under the provisions of the agreement, and while it is stated by Winslow and Bradford that some laws and orders were in fact enacted, it does not appear whether they were put in operation by the vote of all or only a majority of these signers. In view of the fact that only twenty of the forty-one signers survived the first year, it perhaps may be assumed that any law which was adopted expressed the will of all. There is nothing, however, in the phraseology of the Compact which declares the voice of the majority to be the voice of God, or that any individual is bound by any law which in his opinion is not just and equal.

It is important to consider the provisions of the charters and patents material to our inquiry.

The first charter from King James of date April 10, 1606, made provision for the establishment of two colonies or plantations in Virginia and other parts and territories in America.

The first colony, viz., the Southern or London Company, was authorized to locate between 34° and 41° north latitude. The second colony was authorized to locate between 38° and 45° north latitude. The territorial limits overlapped each other and provision was made that neither was to make a plantation within 100 miles of the other.

To the settlers and their children who are born within the limits of these colonies were granted all the liberties, franchises and immunities of Englishmen within the realm of England, and all lands were to be held "as of our manor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent in free and common socage only and not in capite," thus abolishing primo-geniture and granting the broadest possible title.

The second charter of May 23, 1609, gave to the London Company additional privileges and further enlarged their prior grant.

The third charter of March 12, 1612, further enlarged the boundaries of the London Company's prior grants and gave it additional privileges.

To the Virginia Company of London, the representatives of the Pilgrim Company made application for a patent which would authorize the location of a plantation in the new world.

The patent was taken by the advice of friends in the name of John Wincob, or more accurately, Whincop or Wincop, "a religious gentleman then belonging to the Countess of Lincoline."

The patent could not have included the territory where Plymouth is situated, which is north of the 42° north latitude, but "where it (the patent) is or how it came to be lost is not known to any that belong to the said colony."—Hubbard, p. 95.

In February, 1620, the Virginia Company passed the following order:

"It was ordered also by general consent that such captains or leaders of particular plantations that shall go there to inhabit by virtue of their grants and plant themselves, their tenants and servants in Virginia, shall have liberty till a form of Government be here settled for them, associating unto them divers of the gravest and discreetest of their companies, to make orders, ordinances and constitutions for the better ordering and directing of their servants and business provided they be not repugnant to the Laws of England." Records Vol. 1. p. 303.

Before the Pilgrims left Southampton a letter from John Robinson was received, which, as Bradford describes it, was "large" and "fruitful in itself and suitable to their occasion." In this letter Robinson refers to their "intended course of civill communitie," which, as he says, "will minister continual occasion of offence," and then proceeds to state—"Wheras you are become a body politik, using amongst yourselves civill governments," thus clearly anticipating the material purpose of the Compact, viz. the formation of a "civil body politic."

Robinson then refers to the fact that they "are not furnished with any persons of spetiall eminencie above the rest to be chosen by you into office of government. Let your wisdom and godlines appeare not only in chusing shuch persons as doe entirely love and will promote the commone good, but also yeelding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawfull adminstrations." And again to the same effect that they are "at least for the present to have them only for your ordinarie governours which you yourselves shall make choyse of for that worke."

We find here in Robinson's letter the recognition of a "body politic," of a "civil government," of the election of officers by the members of the Company as an accomplished fact, and the direction to yield unto those elected into the offices of government "due honor and obedience in their lawful administrations." Then when all things were "ready, and every bussiness dispatched, the company was caled together and this letter read amongst them, which had good acceptation with all and after fruit with many," writes Bradford. And they chose a Governor and assistants for each ship to "order the people by the way and see to the dispossing of their provissions and shuch like affairs." When they executed the Compact at Cape Cod, they chose, "or rather confirmed" Mr. John Carver their Governor for that year.

It is not material to the inquiry to determine why Bradford made use of this expression, but the evidence seems to justify the conclusion that the body politic, the civil government, and the majority rule, which it is claimed the compact exemplifies and symbolizes for the first time, was fully determined and acted upon prior to the departure of the Mayflower from Southampton water.

On November 3-13, 1620, the charter for the Council for New England passed the seals on the Petition of Sir Ferdinando Gorges granting to the Duke of Lenox and his associates the territory from 40 to 48 degrees north latitude, with the same provision as to the tenure of land, and giving to the settlers "and their children, all the rights of natural born Englishmen." The Mayflower was then on the ocean westward bound. They had formed their civil body politic and had elected officers by the most voices.[1]

The Pilgrim company having adopted a polity, its form defined in this letter from the Pilgrim pastor and authorized by the provisions of their Patent, now find themselves, upon landing in the New World, outside of the territorial limits of the patent. So long as they remained on the ship the problem which confronted them was not serious. The master of the ship had the right and authority to enforce discipline whenever necessary, for the security of the vessel and the safety of the passengers. When the passengers have been landed and the master's authority over them is terminated, some practical method must be promptly adopted to maintain law, order and discipline and restrain any unruly and dissatisfied person in the company.

[1] "The body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals. It is a social compact by which the whole people covenants with each citizen and each citizen with the whole people that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good."—(*Preamble of the Constitution of Massachusetts.*)

Now the obvious thing for a company of Englishmen, wisely led, to do under the then existing circumstances, was to enter into an agreement which shall carry into effect the existing plan under the new conditions with which they are surrounded and to follow, as nearly as may be, the language of the instrument which they had received before they sailed and under which they had so far proceeded in their voyage to the New World, until a new patent could be secured. It was not only the practical, sensible and natural thing to do, but there was a clear direction in the Order of the Virginia Company, passed inFebruary 1620, which authorized and justified the course adopted. Under that Order, before referred to, they had "liberty till a form of Government be here settled for them, of associatinge unto them divers of the gravest and discreetest of their companies to make orders and ordinances for the better orderinge and directing of their servants and business."

Of the 102 passengers on the Mayflower, 41 signed the Compact; and of the entire number 29 were female and 73 male passengers. Prof. Arber in his Story of the Pilgrim Fathers gives the number of adult males at 65. Later investigations lead to the conclusion that there were only 50 adult males. Of that number 7 were probably servants, 2 were seamen, hired under contract for a single year. Under the Order of the Virginia company, above referred to, there was no occasion for the servants to sign, for the purpose of the association was the better ordering and directing of the servants.

Upon the return of the Mayflower, which reached England in May 1621, a formal application through Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was made in behalf of the Plymouth settlers to the Council for New England. In Gorges' Description of New England (M.H.S. Coll. Third Series, Vol. VI, p. 73), he clearly states the course of procedure.

"After they had well considered the state of their affairs, and found that the authority they had from the Company of Virginia could not warrant their abode in that place, which they found so prosperous and pleasing to them, they hastened away their ship, with order to their Solicitor to deal with me to be a means they might have a grant from the council of New England's affairs to settle in the place; which was accordingly performed to their particular satisfaction and good content of them all; which place was after called New Plymouth, where they have continued ever since very peaceable and in all plenty of all necessaries that nature needeth, if that could satisfy our vain affections. Where I will leave them for the present."

The application was granted and on June 1, 1621, the patent issued to John Peirce and his associates, bearing the signatures of the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Warwick, the Marquis of Hamilton, Lord Sheffield and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and one other signature, now illegible.

This patent, the oldest state paper in New England, is now preserved in Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth.

The grant of land under this patent was one hundred acres for every person at any place in New England "not already inhabited by any English" at a yearly rental of two shillings for the term of seven years, and provided that at any time within seven years the Council would grant to Peirce and his "Associate Undertakers & Planters their heires and assignes" request, "Letters & Graunts of Incorporacon" with liberty "to make orders, Lawes, Ordynaunces and Constitucons for the rule, governement, ordering and dyrecting of all persons," etc. Then follows the important and material provision:

"And in the meantyme untill graunt made it shall be lawfull for the said John Peirce his Associate Undertakers and Planters their heires and assignes by consent of the greater pt of them To establish such Lawes and ordynaunce as are for their better government and the same by such Officer or Officers as they shall by most voyces elect and chose to put in execucon."

On the 9th of November, 1621, the "Fortune," a vessel of 55 tons with some 35 passengers, of whom the

adult males exceeded in number the survivors of the original signers of the Compact, arrived bringing the patent which gave them the full authority for their civil government. The patent was in terms more democratic than the Compact in that it more clearly defined the rule of the majority. The Compact had well served the temporary purpose and its further usefulness, except as a symbol, ended.

There is no record of any action under this Compact by the Pilgrim company, except the statement in Mourt's Relation that on Friday, the 23rd day of March, 1621, we "concluded both of Military Orders and of some Laws and Orders: as we thought behoveful for our present estate and condition. And did likewise choose our Governor for this year, which was Master John Carver, a man well approved amongst us," and the statement of Bradford in his History of Plymouth Plantation that "they mette and consulted of lawes and orders, both for their civil and military Govermente as the necessitie of their condition did require."

No copy of these "Laws and Orders" remains and there is no other evidence of their nature and purpose. The only references to the Compact found in the laws of the Colony of New Plymouth are in the recital of authority to make laws, declared at a meeting of the Governor and Assistants and members of the Committee for the Towns of Plymouth, Duxbury and Scituate, held on the 15th of November, 1636, at Plymouth, in which the "combinacon made at Cape Cod the 11th of November, 1620" and the letters patent of 1629 are referred to, and also in "A forme to be placed before the records of the several inheritances granted to all and every the King's subjects inhabiting with the government of New Plymouth." (Plymouth Colony Laws, p. 49.)

In this they define their authority for their government and base the title to their lands subsequent to the arrival at Cape Cod on the civil combination

formed at Cape Cod, Nov. 11, 1620, the treaty with Massasoit, who "freely gave them all the lands, adjacent to them, and their heirs forever," the charter to John Peirce and his associates "whose name we only made use of and the charter to William Bradford and his associates, whose name we likewise used and whose associates as formerly we are."

A fair construction of these formal declarations at the meeting of November 15, 1636, seems to establish that the Compact was temporary in its nature and superseded by the charter to John Peirce and his associates, before referred to, the provisions of which were further enlarged by the charter to William Bradford and his associates of 1629.

Of late years especially the philosophical historians and imaginative orators, as Dr. Young calls them, have described and defined this agreement as a constitution. A slight examination shows that the term "constitution" applied to this instrument is inaccurate and misleading.

The draughtsman clearly distinguished between the agreement which the Pilgrims signed, and a constitution, for the agreement in terms provides that later, or from time to time, they were to constitute and frame a constitution under and by virtue of their agreement. The agreement gave the authority to make a constitution, but the signers never thought that they had made a constitution when they combined themselves into a civil body politic. Nor does the term constitution, as applied to this agreement, find any support in our American use of the word.

"In American Constitutional law the word 'Constitution' is used in a restricted sense as implying the written instrument agreed on by the people of the Union, or any one of the states, as the absolute rule of action and decision for all departments and offices of the Government in respect to all the points covered by it which must control until it shall be changed by the authority which established it."

(Cooley, Constitutional Limitations," p. 3.)

Or better still, as Justice Miller defines it:

"A Constitution, in the American sense of the word, is a written instrument by which the fundamental powers of the government are established, limited and defined, and by which these powers are distributed among several departments for their more safe and useful exercise for the benefit of the body politic,"

and, he added,

"A search for a more satisfactory definition has been in vain, but this language perhaps fairly expresses the meaning of the term in this country."

If we will use the exact and admirable definition of Blackstone, the distinction between a compact and a law, ordinance, act or constitution is easily recognized and appreciated.

"A compact," writes Blackstone, "is a promise proceeding from us; a law is a command directed to us."

The Mayflower Compact was a promise not a command. Cotton Mather's analysis of the cause and effect of the Compact is well supported by the evidence.

"Finding at their arrival that whatever powers they had were made useless by the undesigned place of their arrival, they did as the light of nature itself directed them, * * * * sign an Instrument as a Foundation of their future and needful Governmenet."

The statement in Neal's History of New England (Ed. 1720) Vol. 1, p. 81, is to the same effect.

"But then there was an Inconvenience attending it, (their settling here) which was, That Cape Cod not being within the Limits of their Patent, the Powers they had received from the Crown of England would become void. But necessity has no Law, and therefore before they went ashore they entered into a solemn Combination to submit to such Laws as should by the Majority be approved of."

The claim often made for the Compact by some writers and orators, that it is the basis of our American Constitution, finds little support from any direct authority. So far as my examination goes, and I should be glad to be corrected by any gentleman present, it never was referred to by any statesman who took part in the constitutional conventions which

framed either the state or federal constitution, nor was it ever cited in the deliberations and discussions which preceded the final adoption of either of those important instruments. The Pilgrim story has sufficient to justify the admiration, respect and reverence of succeeding generations without making exaggerated or unfounded claims, the effect of which tends to weaken the real meaning and influence of their lives and labors, of their teachings and their example.

Among the many admirable qualities which characterized the great leaders of the Mayflower Company not the least important and effective was their sound common sense. Constrained by the imperious necessities of their present situation, they put into practical effect the civil policy already adopted under the only plan possible to make it immediately operative until they could secure the requisite authority under a second patent to govern and direct the persons and affairs of the members of the Company in their new and undesigned home.

"They did the work
They had to do;
They builded better
Than they knew,
So must the few whom fate
Selects to found a state."

AN ARTIST INDEX TO STAUFFER'S "AMERICAN ENGRAVERS"

BY THOMAS HOVEY GAGE

Introductory Note

NO more impossible subject upon which to address this Society could be found then an "Index" unless it were the dictionary, or the encylopedia. If, as has been said, the last thing in a book to read is the preface, it may be that the first thing to examine is the index. Certainly no book of reference is worth anything without an index.

Stauffer's and Fielding's works on American Engravers bid fair to remain authoritative, and both are well indexed for engravers and partly indexed for subjects. But engravers are for the most part only copyists; they reproduce on copper, steel or stone the work of another.

The late Frank Bulkeley Smith, whose pictures at one time hung on these walls, became very much interested in early American portraiture. It occured to him that much valuable information as to the identity of the painters of early portraits would be obtained from an examination of engraved copies, and he expressed a purpose to prepare such a list. After his death there were enquiries for it from gentlemen in New York and Boston and among his papers was found an Artist Index to Stauffer and Fielding which his sons and daughter presented to this Society as a contribution to the study of art in America.

Stauffer and Fielding do not pretend to bring their list down later than to include men who were working before 1825. They therefore deal with the beginnings

of art in America. Now the engraver copies; he seldom originates. When photography made copying easy, his art languished. But when he flourished he reproduced the work of artists which appealed to the public taste and would sell. There were artists whose chief employment was to supply material for the engravers. In England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, portraits were painted for the express purpose of being engraved. Everyone knows the fine mezzotints issued by the Fabers, father and son. Thomas Hudson must have been kept fairly busy supplying their needs and some of the rarest and best impressions of their prints are now worth as much as the original portraits in oil.

In this country personages were not so much respected. There are innumerable prints of a few persons of distinction and popularity like Washington and Franklin; but we find a brisk business in painting or drawing scenes and buildings. For example our index shows 90 engravings after Birch, father and son, most of them views. Their work was more admired by Dunlap and Tuckerman than it is by us, although some of Thomas Birch's marine views are still esteemed. It seems quite certain that they painted for the engraver. So we find 35 prints after John Paradise, many of them by his son, John W. Paradise. Dunlap tells us that the Methodists contributed to the elder's employment as a portrait painter and that most of the engravings in the Methodist Magazine are from paintings by him.

Those who contend that contemporary judgment of art is usually wrong will notice that the index gives very few prints after Copley and only one after Malbone. But to offset this we find 104 reproductions of Gilbert Stuart and 42 of Thomas Sully. There are also 40 prints after Joseph Ward, 33 after Neagle, 23 after Inman and 11 after Henry Williams, including one of Isaiah Thomas.

The student will be glad to know that George Catlin, besides painting Indians, made portraits of DeWitt Clinton, Timothy Pickering and Tapping Reeve. There are also listed 15 portraits or miniatures by William M. S. Doyle or his daughter Margaret (one of Isaiah Thomas among them). One wonders why Doyle's portrait of Harriet Newell should have been engraved by three different engravers. The inscription on Ralph Rawdon's plate discloses that she died at Port Louis in the Isle of France, November 30, 1812, in the 20th year of her age, having accompanied her husband in the benevolent attempt to preach Christ to the heathen. The inference is irresistible that the reproductions were to embellish missionary tracts.

The versatile Peale family is well represented in the index. There are engravings from the work of Charles Wilson, Rembrandt, Titian, Anna, James and Raphael. These brief references will show the sort of information to be found in this Artist Index. Of course, comparatively few portraits were ever engraved, but with this index and access to a good collection of American prints like the Goodspeed collection owned by the Worcester Art Museum, enough authenticated work of early artists can be identified to afford the student and collector some basis for attributions to be given early American paintings.

This index also suggests a subject which has never yet received any attention. I refer to the itinerant portrait painters. They were interesting and picturesque personalities who have preserved for us the forms, features and dress of the people of their day. They were self-taught or received some meager instruction from one of the craft. Some of them, like Morse and Harding and Greenwood, settled down to careers of distinction; but most of them lived and worked in obscurity. In the small classes graduating at Dartmouth College in the year 1806 and 1807 there were three young men who became itinerant painters. One wonders what influence directed them, for, so far

as is known, there was absolutely nothing at the time in that outpost of education to stir the artistic imagination.

A few years ago I talked with a very old lady, the daughter of one of these itinerant painters, and learned from her somewhat of her father's life. There were no supply houses then, and in the winter he prepared his own canvases, stretchers and panels and most important of all ground his own colors in oil and so prepared his paints. In the summer he set out, avoiding large places and cities and keeping to the countryside. He stopped with the farmers and in return for his keep, and such modest sums as they could pay, he painted the family. I have seen many examples of his work. Some of it is as hard and cold and stiff as the hospitality and pay were meager. Sometimes, however, he reflected, in the warmth of his color and ambitious attempt to vitalize the subject, the cheer and sociability of a happy home. So they wandered about, bringing the mysteries of the art into the family circle. Once in a while, either because they satisfied their own standards or because of the importance of the subject, or because the compensation and hospitality were generous, they signed and dated a portrait. But this was rare. For the most part they left it to speak for itself.

STAUFFER'S LIST

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Agate	Jones, George	Durand	603
Albano	St, Francis	Boyd	261
Albright	Washington's Headquarters	Steel	3036
Alleton	The Valentine	Longacre	2145
Ames, E.	Allen, Solomon	Tanner-Jones	1507, 3081
	Clinton, George	Maverick	2195
	Hamilton, Alexander	Leney	1768
	Hamilton, Alexander	Hoogland	1423
	Nott, Eliphalet	Durand	625
Anderson	Newark Presbyterian Church	Tiebout	3219
	New York City		
	Columbia College	Tiebout	3205
	Trinity Church	Tiebout	3232
	Sandy Hook Lighthouse	Tiebout	3227
	Sandy Hook Monument	Tiebout	3228
Andrews	Yellow Springs, Pa.	Murray	2297
Arlaud	Bruen, M.	Longacre	1945
Atkenson	The Retreat, Pa.	Kennedy	1638
Badger, J. W.	Emmons, Nathaniel	Pelton	2486
	Page, Harlan	Prud'homme	2597
Bailie	McNiece	Leney	1805
Baquoy	Molay, Jacques de	Tanner	3098
Barber, J. W.	Hartford, Conn.	Willard	3396
	New Haven, Conn.	Willard	3399
Barber, T.	White, Henry Kirke	Annin	83, 84
	White, Henry Kirke	Boyd	267
Barker, J.	Smith, Elisabeth	Leney	1855
Barnett	St. Helena, Island of	Strickland	3062
Barr	Hell-Gate, N. Y.	Tiebout	3210
Barralet, John J.	America, Frontispiece	Edwin	925
	America Guided by Wisdom	Tanner & Co.	3115
	Baptism of Christ	Tiebout	3237
	Francisco, Peter	Edwin	921
	"Fulton First", Launch of	Tanner	3131
	Macpherson Blues	Lawson	1693
	Master of Ships	Edwin	938
	Society of, Penn, William	Lawson	1683
	Perry's Victory	Tanner	3138
	Philadelphia, Pa.		
	Academy of Fine Arts	Tanner	3137
	Water Works, Centre Square	Tiebout	3234
	Schuylkill Bridge	Lawson	1695-96
	Trenton Bridge	Murray	2294
	Washington, George	Houston	1464
	Washington, George	Lawson	1688-89
Bartlett, J. J.	Partridge, Alden	Willard	3386
Bartoli, F.	Washington, George	Edwin	905
	Washington, George	Galland	1024
Bartram	Mico-Chlucco	Trenchard	3275

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Bayley	New York City		
	Grace Church	Prud'homme	2626
	St. Stephen's Church	Prud'homme	2627
	Trinity Church	Prud'homme	2628
Beechey	George III—England	Longmore	1985
Bell	Anatomy	Edwin	941
Bennett, W. J.	"Archipelago" U. S. Sloop	Bennett	145
	Falls of the Sawkill	Durand	675
	Niagara Falls, N. Y.,	Hill	1348-49
	Weehawken, N. J.	Durand	677
Bevan	Penn, William	Edwin	841-43
Bigg	Cottage Scene	Tiebout	3207
Billing	McLean Asylum, Mass.	Smith, G. G.	2913
Birch, T.	"Albion," Loss of the	Tiebout	3200
	Andalusia, Pa.	Steel	3038
	Bethlehem, Pa.	Strickland	3053
	Breck, Samuel, Residence	Steel	3038
Wm.	China Retreat, Pa.	Birch	192
T.	"Constitution" and "Guerriere"	Tiebout	3206
Wm.	Decatur, Stephen	Edwin	747
T.	Delaware River	Tucker	3318
	Delaware Water Gap	Strickland	3066
	Devon, Pa.	Birch	193
Wm.	Echo, Pa.	Birch	195
	Elysian Bower, Pa.	Birch	196
	Fountain Green, Pa.	Birch	197
	Hampton, Md.	Birch	198
T.	Hermitage, The	Steel	3029
Wm.	Hoboken, N. J.	Birch	199
	Landsdown, Pa.	Birch	200
	Market St. Bridge, Pa.	Seymour	2885
	Mendenhall Ferry, Pa.	Birch	201
	Montibello, Md.	Birch	202
	Mount Sidney, Pa.	Birch	203
	Mount Vernon, Va.	Birch	204
	Mount Vernon, Va.	Seymour	2883
T.	Mount Vernon, Va.	Tucker	3327
Wm.	New York City	Seymour	2884
T.	View of Battery	Tucker	3327
	View from Niagara Falls, N. Y.	Steel	3032
	Pass of La Cabrera	Kearny	1577
	Passaic Falls, N. J.	Tucker	3324
T.	"Peacock" and "L'Epervier"	Strickland	3060
	Perry's Victory	Lawson	1691
W.	Philadelphia		
	View of	Birch	178
T.	View of	Cone	429
T.	View of	Seymour	2882
T.	View of	Tucker	3327
W.	Almshouse, Spruce St.	Birch	160
	Arch St. Ferry	Birch	161
	Bank of Pennsylvania	Birch	162
	Bank of Philadelphia	Birch	163
	Bank of United States	Birch	164
	Chestnut St. Theatre	Fox	1012
	Christ Church	Birch	165

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Birch, W.	Congress Hall, etc.	Birch	171
T.	Fairmount Water Works	Campbell	302
	Fairmount Water Works	Tanner	3124
	Fairmount Water Works	Tiller	3248
W.	High St., View on	Birch	184
	High St. Markets	Birch	174-79
	High St. Markets	Birch	155
	Jail, Walnut St.	Birch	172
	Library and Surgeon's Hall	Birch	159, 176
	Lutheran Church, Old	Birch	166
	Lutheran Church, New	Birch	167
	Market St. Bridge	Seymour	2885
	New Market, Second St.	Birch	177
	New Theatre	Birch	171
	Pennsylvania Hospital	Birch	159, 179
	Presbyterian Church, 1st	Birch	168
	Presbyterian Church, 2nd	Birch	169
	Robert Morris House	Birch	173
	State House	Birch	181
	State House, Back View	Birch	182
	State House Garden	Birch	183
	Swedes' Church	Birch	159, 179
	Third and Market Sts.	Birch	186
	Third and Spruce Sts.	Birch	185
	Washington's Funeral	Birch	187
	Water Works, Centre Square	Birch	188
	Philadelphia Views	Barker	117
T.	Sacketts Harbor, N. H.	Plocher	2548
	Sacketts Harbor, N. H.	Strickland	3063
W.	Schuylkill Bridge	Seymour	2885
	Sedgley, Pa.	Birch	205
	Solitude, Pa.	Birch	206
T.	"United States" and "Macedonian"	Seymour	2879
	"United States" and "Macedonian"	Tanner	3143
	Upper Ferry Bridge, Pa.	Plocher	2549
	Washington, George	Lawson	1690
W.	Washington, Capitol	Birch	190
T.	"Wasp" and "Frolic" Battle	Seymour	2880
	Water Gap, Pa.	Strickland	3066
	Woodlands, Pa.	Birch	277
T.	Woodlands, Pa.	Tucker	3320
W.	York Island	Birch	208
Blackburn	Otis, James	Durand	629
	Otis, James	Smith, J. R.	2925
Blanchard	Cooper, J. Fennimore	Dodson	487
Blodget	Lake George, Battle of	Johnston	1501
Blyth	Washington, Martha	Norman	2356
	Washington, George	Norman	2351
Blyther	Adams, Abigail	Pelton	2477
Bogle	Chase, Philander	Prud'homme	2561
	Gillies, John	Chapin	305
Bonnetheau	Greene, Nathanael	Longacre	1993
	Pinckney, Charles C.	Durand	635
Bowman	Eastburn, Joseph	Frederick	1917
Boxall	Wordsworth, William	Longacre	2131

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Brackenridge	Dickinson College, Pa.	Tanner	3122
Branwhite	Jay, William	Durand	602
	Ryland, John	Hoogland	1431
Brenton	Perry, O. H., Memorial	Willard	3387
Brewster	Allen, Benjamin	Edwin	699
Bridges	New York City, Plan of	Maverick	2250
Bridport	Bordentown, N. J.	Steel	3038
	Tilghman, William	Bridport	278
	Versailles Insurrection	Nesmith	2322
	York, Attack on	Nesmith	2321
Brougham	Warren, Joseph	Kelly	1629
Brown, W. H.	Bruce, Archibald	Hoogland	1416
	Johnson, Samuel	Maverick	2214
Geo. L.	Crown of New England	Smith, G. G.	2914
Buck	Jerningham, Edward	Leney	1792
Bulfinch, C.	Hollis St. Church	Vallance	3341
	Washington, Capitol	Child	379
	Washington, Capitol	Stone	3042-43
Burnet	Playing Draughts	Otis	2382
Burney	Ovid	Scoles	2801
Burton	New York City		
	Bay of New York	Smith, W. D.	2970
	Park Row	Smith, W. D.	2969
	Wall Street	Hoogland	1439
Busby	New York City		
	Almshouse	Hooker	1447
Byrd, H.	Horton, James	Smith, W. D.	2954
Calton	Caslon, Mrs. E.	Leney	1723
Carleton	Maine, Map of	Norman	2362
Carman	Riley, James	Gimbrede	1086
Carter	Freemasons' Charity School	Leney	1886-87
Catlin, Geo.	Clinton, De Witt	Longacre	1961
	Pickering, Timothy	Longacre	2071
	Reeve, Tapping	Maverick	2228
	Washington, President's House	Frederick	1019
	West Point Academy	Hill	1354
Cerracchi	Hamilton, Alexander	Durand	592
	Hamilton, Alexander	Leney	1769-70
	Washington, George	Prud'homme	2615
Chadwick	Cambridge, Colleges at	Revere	2682
Chamberlin	Franklin, Benjamin	Haines	1197
Chamberlayne	Strahan, William	Leney	1859
Chandos	Shakespeare, William	Field	1002
	Shakespeare, William	Kelly	1624
Chantry	Montgomery, James	Jones	1523
	Scott, Sir Walter	Kelly	1621
	Wordsworth, William	Pelton	2536
Chapman, John G.	Landing at Jamestown	Danforth	458
	Montpelier, Va.	Prud'homme	2639
Choquet	Bichat, M. F. X.	Annin & Smith	90
Chorley	Peak, John	Annin & Smith	97
Clay, E. W.	Governor's Guard	Childs	364
	Sedgley Park, Pa.	Childs	374
	Stag and Hound	Longacre	2146
Claxton	"Wasp" and "Frolic" Battle	Kearny	1581
Cochin	Franklin, Benjamin	Tanner	3087

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Coffee	Clinton, De Witt	Durand	569
Cole, T.	Fort Ticonderoga	Kearny	1574
	Lake George	Chapin	311
	Winnipiseogee Lake	Durand	678
Coles	Strong, Caleb	Edwin	882
Comerford	Tighe, Mrs.	Boyd	265
Conarroe	Ware, Thomas	Longacre	2101
Cooke, Geo.	Gaston, William	Durand	589
	Moring, Christopher S.	Danforth	449
	Richmond, Va.	Bennett	143
	Washington, D. C.	Bennett	149
	West Point, N. Y.	Bennett	151
Cooper, Samuel	Milton, John	Hoogland	1427
Copley, J. S.	Adams, John	Smither	2971
	Adams, Samuel	Goodman & Piggot	1126
	Adams, Samuel	Longacre	1923
	Hancock, John	Longacre	1994-96
	Hancock, John	Pelton	2495
	Paca, William	Maverick	2225
	Welsteed, William	Copley	440
Corbould	Junius	Anderson	55
	Junius	Pekenino	2448
Corne, M.	Bainbridge's Return	Leney	1881
	"Chesapeake" and "Shannon"	Wightman	3360
	Macdonough's Victory	Hoogland	1437
	Perry's Victory	Annin	87-88
Correggio	Jesus Christ	Paradise	2416
Cosse	Scott, Thomas	Danforth	453
	Scott, Thomas	Longacre	2088
	Scott, Thomas	Main	2162
Cosway	Errington, John	Leney	1750
	Erskine, Thomas	Maverick	2202
	Infancy of Scottish Music	Edwin	939
Coupin	Contemplation	Longacre	2157
Coypel	Rollin, Charles	Scoles	2805
	Rollin, Charles	Smith, W. D.	2963
Craig, W. M.	Calcutta	Campbell	300
	Edinburgh	Campbell	301
	Jerusalem	Kelly	1634
	Jerusalem	Main	2164
	Memphis, Egypt	Kelly	1633
	Naples, Italy	Campbell	303
	Paris, France	Neagle	2316
Cranch	Dawes, Rufus	Prud'homme	2567
Crawley	Thresher, G.	Leney	1862
Croome	Franklin, Benjamin	Tucker	3307
Cruikshank	Wilberforce, William	Murray	2287
	Wilberforce, William	Tanner	3109
Cummings	Furman, Garrit	Durand	587
	New York City Castle Garden	Steel	3023
Dacier	Calvin, John	Kneass	1647
Dana	Dartmouth College	Bowen	226
Darley, J. C.	Darley, Ellen Westray	Steel	3004
	Wells, Joshua	Paradise	2414

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
David	Napoleon Bonaparte	Hooker	1447
	Napoleon Bonaparte	Houston	1454
	Napoleon Bonaparte	Pekenino	2457
Davis, A. J.	New York City		
	Exchange, The	Yeager	3432
	Jews' Synagogue	Smith, W. D.	2967
	Masonic Hall	Smith, W. D.	2967
	Merchants' Exchange	Smith, W. D.	2967
	Rotunda, The	Smith, W. D.	2967
	St. John Chapel	Smith, W. D.	2968
	South Street	Yeager	3437
	Unitarian Church,	Smith, W. D.	2967
	U. S. Branch Bank	Smith, W. D.	2967
Davis, W.	O'Neill, Miss	Longacre	2061
Da Vinci	Last Supper, The	Kearny	1582-83
De Berniere	Bunker Hill, Battle	Smith, G. G.	2910
De La Tour	Voltaire, F. M. A.	Gimbrede	1094
De Rose	Crocket, David	Durand	577
De Wilde	Angelo, Mr.	Leney	1708
	Barclay, Miss	Leney	1711
	Barrymore, Earl of	Leney	1713
	Blanchard, Mrs.	Leney	1716
	Bland, Mrs.	Leney	1717
	Caulfield, Mr.	Leney	1725
	Collins, Mr.	Leney	1733
	Cooke, George Frederick	Anderson	49
	Esten, Mrs.	Leney	1751
	Goodall, Mrs.	Leney	1763
	Hull, Mr	Leney	1785
	Kelly, Mrs.	Leney	1796
	Kemble, Mrs. S.	Leney	1797
	Lewes, Lee	Leney	1801
	Martyr, Mrs.	Leney	1812
	Merry, Mrs.	Leney	1816
	Miller, Miss	Leney	1818
	Powell, Mrs.	Leney	1838
	Siddons, Sarah Kemble	Leney	1851-53
	Wallis, Miss	Leney	1864
	Wells, Mrs.	Leney	1871-72
	Wilson, Mr.	Leney	1876
	Withero, Capt.	Leney	1713
	Wroughton, Mr.	Leney	1878
Deming	Cowen, E.	Smith, W. D.	2949
Derby	Bunyan, John	Smith, W. D.	2945
	Clarke, Adam	Paradise	2393
	Clarke, Adam	Smith, W. D.	2948
Devis	Jones, Sir William	Haines	1203
Dickinson, A.	Cheverus, John	Hoogland	1419
	Cutler, B. C.	Prud'homme	2566
	Salaberry, C. M. d'I.	Durand	644
	Van Rensselaer, Stephen	Durand	658
	Washington, George	Steel	3018
Dickson	Charlotte Elizabeth	Smith, W. D.	2950
Dighton	Business Card, Ashton's	Sparrow	2999
	Horsley, Samuel	Leney	1783
Dodge	Canton Factories	Scoles	2829
	Jackson, Andrew	Danforth	443

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Numb r
DOUGHTY,	Athens	Lang	1670
F.	Baltimore, Md.	Steel	3026
Thos.	Flat Rock Dam, Pa.	Steel	3038
	Gilpin's Mills, Pa.	Steel	3038
	Harper's Ferry, Va.	Steel	3028
	Harper's Ferry, Va.	Tucker	3321
	Highlands on Hudson	Tucker	3320
	Juniata River	Ellis	978
	Montmorenci Falls	Childs	363
	Philadelphia, Pa.		
	Fairmount Water Works	Cone	428
	Fairmount Water Works	Hill	1333
	Fairmount Water Works	Tucker	3319
	Water Works, Chestnut St.	Childs	382
	President's House, Wash.	Steel	3038
	Washington, Capitol	Steel	3038
DOUGLAS	Fort Erie, Siege of	Vallance	3342
DOUGLASS	Kollock, Henry	Longacre	2031-32
DOWNMAN	Rosalind and Orlando	Leney	1906
DOYLE,	Baldwin, Thomas	Gobrecht	1108
Miss M.	Baldwin, Thomas	Hoogland	1415
	Darley, Ellen Westray	Edwin	745
	Eaton, William	Snyder	2990
	Fennell, James	Snyder	2991
	Knowles, James D	Chorley	387
W.	Newell, Harriet	Annin	78
W.	Newell, Harriet	Edwin	838
W.	Newell, Harriet	Rawdon	2636
	Porter, Jacob	Gimbrede	1081
	Stillman, Samuel	Annin & Smith	102
	Stillman, Samuel	Leney	1858
W.	Strong, Caleb	Smith, J. R.	2931
	Thomas, Isaiah	Jones	1526
Miss M.	Winchell, James M.	Annin & Smith	104
DRAYTON	New York City		
	Battery, The	Hill	1387
DRUMMOND	Preston, William	Leney	1839
DUCHE	Seabury, Samuel	Gimbrede	1089
DUNCANNON	Portsmouth, England	Birch	156
DUNHAM	Dartmouth College	Hill	1401
DUNLAP, Wm.	Braithwaite, Anna	Durand	560
	Cooke, George Frederick	Leney	1735
	Darley, Ellen Westray	Leney	1742
	Hallam, Mrs. Lewis	Tiebout	3173
	Hodgkinson, John	Tiebout	3175
	Hodgkinson, Mrs. John	Tiebout	3178
	McFarland, Francis F.	Leney	1808
	Melmoth, Mrs.	Tiebout	3187
	Moore, Richard Channing	Maverick	2220
	Wignell, Anna Brunton	Edwin	913
DURAND, A. B.	Adams, John Quincy	Paradise	2385
	American Landscape	Smillie	672
	Catskill Mountains	Durand	673
	Cooke, Monument of	Durand	671
	Delaware Water Gap	Durand	674
	Musidora	Durand	683
	Ogden, Aaron	Durand	626

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Durand, A. B.	Paulding, William	Durand	631
	Pekenino, Michele	Durand	632
Du Simitiere	Arnold, Benedict	Smith, G. G.	2902
Duval	Claiborne, William C. C.	Longacre	1957
Earl, R. E. W.	Jackson, Andrew	Longacre	2014, 2020
or	Jackson, Andrew	Prud'homme	2563
Earle	Lexington-Concord Battle	Doolittle	526-29
	Rutledge, Edward	Longacre	2084
	Sherman, Roger	Jocelyn	1553
	Sherman, Roger	Pelton	2520
Eckstein, John	Schmidt, John F.	Eckstein	685
	Staughton, William	Eckstein	686
	Washington, George	Eckstein	687
Eddis	Lighthouse	Hill	1393
	Eden Vale, Mass.	Hill	1404
Edgeworth	Edgeworth, Maria, Residence	Childs	362
Edwards	Bolles, Lucius	Pelton	2480
	Huntington, S.	Hoogland	1424
Edwin	Penn, William	Longacre	2067-68
	Wirt, William	Maverick	2233
Eichholtz	Harlan, R.	Pekenino	2447
Elouis	Wayne, Anthony	Graham	1169
Elwell	Hyde, Alvan	Pelton	2503
Emmons	Sewall, Samuel	Pelton	2518
Evers	New York City		
	Rutgers' Medical College	Durand	681
Fairman, G.	Dennie Memorial	Fairman	996
	Ellison, Thomas	Fairman	987
	Ewing, J. S.	Childs	345
	Hicks, Elias	Childs	346
	Jay, John	Hooker	1442
	Washington, George	Kearny	1571
	Washington Grays	Childs	380
Fanning	Bainbridge's Squadron	Smith, G. G.	2909
Fellowes	Abelard and Heloise, Tomb	Hill	1353
Fermin	Budgell, Eustace	Leney	1721
Field, Robt.	Carroll, Charles, of C.	Longacre	1954
	Cliffton, William	Edwin	729
	Hamilton, Alexander	Fairman	988
	Harwood, John Edmund	Edwin	775
	Sherbrooke, John Cope	Field	1003
Fisher	Connecticut River	Ellis	977
	Harvard College	Annin & Smith	109
	Harvard College	Bowen	229
	Harvard College	Torrey	3273
Folwell	Manheim Family, The	Maverick	2262
Forrest	New York City		
	Christ Church	Prud'homme	2625
Fountain	Bunyan, John	Longacre	1946
Fouquet	Mara, Madame	Leney	1810
Franks	Stanford, John	Tiebout	3191
Fraser, Chas.	Boston, Mass., View of	Childs	355
or	Dalcho, Frederick	Durand	578
Frazer	Haddril's Point, S. C.	Hill	1334
or	Horry, Elias	Longacre	2005
Frazier	Horry, Mary Shubrick	Longacre	2006
	Horry, Thomas	Steel	3008

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
	Hudson River	Hill	1341
	James River, Va.	Childs	366
	Passaic Falls, N. J.	Childs	370
	Richmond, Va.	Hill	1352
	West Rock, Conn.	Childs	381
FREEBAIRN	Haverstock Hill	Childs	365
FREEMAN	Woodworth, Samuel	Gimbrede	1104
FREY	Cruden, Alexander	Tucker	3303
FROTHINGHAM	Brooks, John	Chorley	384
	Webster, Daniel	Hoogland	1434
FULLERTON	Washington, George	Smith, G. G.	2907
FULTON, Robt.	Barlow, Joel	Durand	555
FUSELI	Falstaff	Leney	1908
	Nightmare, The	Boyd	273
GAINS	Honeyman, James	Okey	2372
GARDNER	Masonicus	Leney	1814
GARVEY	Plymouth Dock, Eng.	Birch	155
GIBSON	Nisbet, C., Monument of	Boyd	272
GIMBREDE, T.	Adams, John Quincy	Gimbrede	1032
	Gallatin, Albert	Jones	1513
	Madison, James	Jones	1521
	Scott, Winfield	Gimbrede	1090
GIOSAFATTI	Milan, Italy	Horton	1451
GODEFROY	Baltimore, Battle Monument	Tanner	3118
	Baltimore Court House	Cone	427
	Baltimore Independent Church	Tanner & Co.	3129
GOODRICH, Miss Sarah	Ballou, Hosea	Bowen	210
	Grafton, Joseph	Annin & Smith	93
	Stuart, Charles Gilbert	Durand	653
GRAHAM, J.	Crouch, Mrs.	Leney	1738
	Gough, Miss	Leney	1764
	Hannum, William	Leney	1771
	Holman, Mr.	Leney	1781
	Hull, Mr.	Leney	1787
	Mary, Queen of Scots	Longacre	2049
	Othello and Desdemona	Leney	1910-11
GRASSI	Kosciussko, Thaddeus	Houston	1461
GRAY	Salem Court House	Hill	1413
GREENWOOD,	Prince, Thomas	Pelham	2472
GROOMBRIDGE	Hodgkinson, John	Leney	1780
GUERARD	Maria Louisa, France	Edwin	821
GUERIN	Marcus Sextus	Hooker	1443
GUIDO	Jesus Christ	Pekenino	2458
HAILES	Pepys, Elizabeth	Steel	3013
HAINES, W.	Barton, Benjamin Smith	Haines	1190
	Moore, Thomas	Haines	1206
	Rush, Benjamin	Haines	1212
	Rush, Benjamin	Jones	1524
	Wistar, Caspar	Haines	1221
	Wistar, Caspar	Jones	1528
HALLOWAY	Franklin, Benjamin	Allardice	41
HAMILTON, W.	Adam and Eve	Newcomb	2326
	Siddons, Sarah Kemble	Leney	1852
HARDING, Chester	Boone, Daniel	Longacre	1941
	Carroll, Charles, of C.	Durand	566
	Carroll, Charles, of C.	Longacre	1953
	Channing, Wm. Ellery	Hoogland	1417-18

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
HARDING, Chester	Howard, John Eager	Prud'homme	2580
	Washington, Bushrod	Longacre	2103
HARRISON	Dallas, George Mifflin	Harrison	1279
HAVILAND	Philadelphia		
	Eastern Penitentiary,	Childs	360
	Presbyterian Church	Boyd	271
HEINS	Cowper, Mrs.	Maverick	2199
HERRING	Francis, John W.	Prud'homme	2573
	Hibbard, B.	Danforth	443
	Lewis, Morgan	Durand	609
	Lewis, Morgan	Paradise	2403
HERVIEU	Spencer, Mrs. E.	Longacre	2093
	Spencer, H. E.	Longacre	2094
HEWINS	Hawes, Joel	Pelton	2496
HICKEL	Lambton, William H.	Leney	1799
HILL, S.	Boston, Mass., View of	Hill	1390
	Hancock House	Hill	1406
P.	Maffitt, John N.	Kelly	1614
I. W.	Philadelphia, View of	Hill	1350-51
HOFFMAN, Jacob	Broadhead's Creek, Pa.	Scoles	2827
	Bush Hill, Pa.	Tiebout	3203
	Green Hill, Pa.	Hill	1405
	Minisink, Pa.	Scoles	2834
	Pahaqualing, N. J.	Clarke	414
	Pahaqualing, N. J.	Scoles	2842
	Pennsylvania Hospital	Hill	1411
	Philadelphia, View of	Scoles	2844
	Schuylkill Falls, Pa.	Tiebout	3229
HOGARTH	Fielding, Henry	Leney	1754
HOIT	Harrison, William H.	Pelton	2496
HOLBEIN, H.	Bacon, Sir Francis	Haines	1189
	Boleyn, Anne	Cook	430
	Luther, Martin	Eckstein	684
	Luther, Martin	Eckstein	684
HOOKER	Albany Dutch Church	Snyder	2996
	Albany Lancaster School	Willard-Rawdon	3397
	New York City, Plan of	Hooker	1448
HOPPIN	Wharton, Capt., Escape of	Prud'homme	2621
HOPPNER	Nelson, Horatio	Prud'homme	2595
HOPSON	Curran, John Philpot	Houston	1458
HOQUINE	Brown, Tipping	Leney	1720
HORNER	New York City, Broadway	Hill	1325
HOUDON	Washington, George	Durand	660
	Washington, George	Hamlin	1237
	Washington, George	Leney	1666
HOUSTON	Adams, John	Houston	1454-55
HOWELL	Baron, George	Anderson	67
HOWELL-LEWIS	Pennsylvania, Map	Scoles	2841
HUBARD	Clay, Henry	Longacre	1959
HUNTINGTON	Church of God	Hill	1356
HURLSTONE	Huntington, S.	Pelton	2502
INDERWICK	Mitchell's Lighthouse	Leney	1889
INGHAM, Chas.	Clinton, De Witt	Durand	571
	Clinton, De Witt	Prud'homme	2563
	Cooper, Thomas	Durand	573
	Fuller, William	Durand	586
	Lafayette, Marquis de	Danforth	447

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
INGHAM, Chas.	Sedgwick, Catherine M.	Durand	648
	Stewart, Mrs.	Paradise	2409
INMAN, Henry	Clarke, McDonald	Maverick	2194
	Clinton, De Witt	Durand	570
	Dismal Swamp, Va.	Maverick	2239
	Fisher, Clara	Bennett	122
	Gilpin, Henry D.	Dodson	490
	Griswold, Alexander V.	Dodson	491
	Hackett, James H.	Durand	591
	Hicks, Elias	Maverick	2205
	Macready, William C.	Durand	612
	Marshall, John	Durand	615
	Moore, Richard Channing	Dodson	496
	Mott, Valentine	Durand	623
	Mount Joliet	Maverick	2247
	Nevins, William	Paradise	2407
	Physick, Philip Syng	Dodson	498
	Physick, Philip Syng	Durand	634
	Rock Fort	Maverick	2254
	Rutgers, Henry	Wright	3413
	Saratoga Springs, N. Y.	Maverick	2255
	Stanford, John	Main	2163
	Swain, William	Durand	655
	Van Buren, Martin	Chapin	306
	White, Rev. William	Dodson	505
ISABEY	Napoleon, Francois Charles Jos.	Gimbrede	1072
JACOBS	Humboldt, Alex. von	Prud'homme	2581
JACKSON, J.	Bennett, George	Pelton	2479
	Clarke, Adam	Longacre	1958
	Emory, John	Longacre	1970
	McJilton, Daniel	Piggot	2542
	Macready, William C.	Longacre	2045
	Wesley, John	Longacre	2116-19
	Wesley, John	Munson	2282
JAGEMAN	Luther, Martin	Longacre	2040
JAMES	Plessis, Joseph Octave	Durand	638
	Sutton, Amos	Pelton	2523
JANINET	Franklin, Benjamin	Murray	2285
	Franklin, Benjamin	Pekenino	2441-42
JANSEN	Lesley, Alexander	Tiebout	3183
JARVIS, J.	Bainbridge, William	Durand	553
	Bainbridge, William	Maverick	2183
	Baker, Rachel	Gimbrede	1035
	Blackburn, Gideon	Maverick	2184
	Brown, Jacob	Durand	562
	Brown, Jacob	Maverick	2187
	Chase, Samuel	Longacre	1956
	Crawford, William H.	Durand	576
	Decatur, Stephen	Pekenino	2438
	Gaines, Edmund P.	Longacre	1983
	Graham, Isabella	Leney	1765
	Graham, Isabella	Leney-Valetine	3337
	Graham, Isabella	Rollinson	2708
	Hanson, Alex. Contee	Edwin	774
	Jackson, Andrew	Phillips	2540
	McKendree, William	Gimbrede	1062

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Jarvis, J.	MacDonough, Thomas	Gimbrede	1061
	Mason, John M.	Durand	616
	Mitchell, Samuel L.	Durand	621
	Moore, Benjamin	Edwin	830
	Moore, Benjamin	Paradise	2406
	Perry, Oliver H.	Pekenino	2451
	Randolph, John	Gimbrede	1085
	Ridgely, C.	Goodman & Piggot	1150
	Rodgers, John	Edwin	861
	Sampson, William	Gimbrede	1088
	Warrington, Lewis	Gimbrede	1096
Jennys	Munson, Aeneas	Jocelyn	1547
Jocelyn, N.	Ashman, Jehudi	Jocelyn	1530
	Leffingwell, William	Jocelyn	1545
	Porter, Ebenezer	Longacre	2076
	Taylor, N. W.	Jocelyn	1558
	Truair, John	Jocelyn	1559
Johnson, E. F.	Norwich, Vt.	Peabody	2421
	Norwich Military Acad.	Peabody	2420
	Stillman, Samuel	Snyder	2994
Johnson-Doyle	Waters, Abigail	Annin	81
Johnston, D. C.	Adams, Samuel	Graham	1161
	Alston, Washington	Johnston	1484
	Boston, Mass., View of	Steel	3021
	Breed's Hill, Mass.	Steel	3022
	Matthews, Charles	Johnston	1489-91
Jones	Philadelphia		
	Masonic Hall, Fire at	Hill	1345
Joutt, M. H.	Transylvania University	Gridley	1186
Joutt	Shelby, Isaac	Durand	649
Kidd	Paley, William	Prud'homme	2598
Kidder	Hampton Beach, Mass	Bowen	228
	White Mountains, N. H.	Bowen	234
King, C. B.	Adams, John Quincy	Kearny	1565
	Adams, John Quincy	Moore	2275
	Barry, William T.	Longacre	1930
	Calhoun, John C.	Longacre	1949-50
	Clay, Henry	Maverick	2192
	Johnston, Josiah S.	Longacre	2027
	McKendree, William	Edwin	815
	Monroe, James	Goodman & Piggot	1145
	Pawnee Brave	Jocelyn	1550
	Pinkney, William	Longacre	2072
	Whitney, Eli	Hoogland	1435
Kneller, Sir Godfrey	Addison, Joseph	Ellis	963
	Addison, Joseph	Kelly	1502
	Congreve, William	Leney	1734
	Hughes, John	Leney	1784
	Locke, John	Harrison	1281
	Pepys, Samuel	Steel	3014
	Pope, Alexander	Hoogland	1430
	Pope, Alexander	Longacre	2075
	Tickell, Thomas	Leney	1863
Knox	New Orleans Orphans' Asylum	Hill	1346
Kranach	Luther, Martin	Rawdon	2635
Krimmel	Philadelphia, Election Scene	Lawson	1692
	Victuallers' Procession	Yeager	3438

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
LACOUR	New York City		
	Federal Hall	Doolittle	533
LAMBDIN	Harrison, William H.	Dodson	492
LAWRENCE, C.	Bedell, Gregory T.	Humphrys	1469
T.	Cowper, William	Gimbrede	1046
T.	George IV, England	Longacre	1986
	Gloucester, Jeremiah	Tiller	3240
C.	Meigs, Return Jonathan	Longacre	2050
C.	Smith, Samuel Stanhope	Goodman & Piggot	1154
LE BARBIER	Barlow, Joel	Anderson	45
LEHMAN	Gray's Ferry, Pa.	Steel	3027
	Philadelphia		
	Fairmount Water Works	Steel	3025
	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Childs	371
	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Steel	3033
	Schuylkill Canal, Pa.	Childs	372
LELY	Arlington, Earl of	Haines	1188
	Clarendon, Earl of	Haines	1195
	Cromwell, Oliver	Prud'homme	2565
LEMET	Parkinson, William	Maverick	2226
LENNART	Livingston Monument	Wagner	3347
LEUSER	Balston Springs, N. Y.	Hill	1324
	Congress Springs, N. Y.	Hill	1326
	Elk, The	Ellis	980
LESLIE, C. R.	Blisset, Francis	Edwin	786
	Cooke, George Frederick	Edwin	734-36
	Cooper, Thomas Apthorpe	Edwin	737
	Cooper, Thomas Apthorpe	Lewis	1914
	Homer	Edwin	779
	Irving, Washington	Danforth	444-45
	Jefferson, J. and F. Blisset	Edwin	786
	Quixote, Don	Danforth	451
	Scott, Sir Walter	Danforth	454
	Scott, Sir Walter	Longacre	2089
	Sentry-Box, The	Danforth	460
LEWIS	Macdonough, Thomas	Annin	75
	Philadelphia, New Theatre	Ralph	2632
LINCOLN	Slater, Samuel	Steel	3016
LINEN	Clay, Henry	Prud'homme	2562
	Fitz, Henry	Smith, W. D.	2952
LIVINGSTON, H.	Indian Mounds	Tiebout	3211
	Livingston Saw Mill	Tiebout	3215
	Maelstrom, The	Tiebout	3216
	Mohawk River	Tiebout	3217
	Palisades, The	Tiebout	3225
	West Point, N. Y.	Tiebout	3235
LOGGAN	Ken, Thomas	Humphrys	1471
LONGACRE, Jas.	Barry, William T.	Longacre	1929
	Berrien, John McPherson	Longacre	1937
	Branch, John	Longacre	1943
	Chapman, Nathaniel	Longacre	1955
	Eaton, John H.	Longacre	1968
	Emmons, Richard	Longacre	1969
	Franklin, Benjamin	Dodson	489
	Hayne, Robert Y.	Longacre	1997
	Hewes, Joseph	Kearny	1567

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Longacre, Jas.	Ingham, Samuel D.	Longacre	2010
	Jackson, Andrew	Longacre	2013, 2016-17
	Poinsett, Joel R.	Longacre	2074
	Ruter, Martin	Longacre	2083
	Sargent, Thomas	Longacre	2085
	Spencer, O. M.	Longacre	2095
	Van Buren, Martin	Longacre	2099
	Webster, Daniel	Longacre	2112-14
	Wirt, William	Longacre	2124-25
	Woodbury, Levi	Longacre	2129
Loss	Boats on Mohawk	Maverick	2237
Loutherbourg	Windermere, England	Birch	157
Lovett	Baker, Mr.	Hill	1361
	Clarke, John	Graham	1162
Lubbee	Unknown Man	Gimbrede	1105
Lyon	"Constitution" U. S. Frigate	Bowen	233
Maella	Columbus, Christopher	Maverick	2197
Maldone	Tousard, A. Louis	Edwin	885
Mangin	New York City, Prison	Fox	1013-14
Marling	Forster, Anthony	Goodman & Piggot	1135
Martin, D.	Franklin, Benjamin	Ellis	968
	Franklin, Benjamin	Gobrecht	1110
	Franklin, Benjamin	Goodman & Piggot	1136-37
	Franklin, Benjamin	Hamlin	1230
	Franklin, Benjamin	Kelly	1603
	Franklin, Benjamin	Longacre	1977-79, 2110
	Franklin, Benjamin	Maverick, S.	2267
	Franklin, Benjamin	Savage	2745
	Franklin, Benjamin	Smith, W. D.	2953
	Franklin, Benjamin	Willard	3371
	Franklin, Benjamin	Woodruff	3402
	Livingston, Brockholst	Prud'homme	2589
	Martin, John E.	Scoles	2792
Mason	Eaglesfield, Pa.	Childs	361
	Philadelphia		
	Eastern Penitentiary	Childs	359
	Penn. Hospital for Insane	Tucker	3326
McArthur	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Hospital	Tucker	3325
McPherson	Clay, Henry	Steel	3003
Meance	Duflef, N. G.	Edwin	752
Medley	Pearce, Samuel	Annin & Smith	98
	Pearce, Samuel	Boyd	258
	Pearce, Samuel	Longacre	2066
Metcalf, E.	Cornelius, E.	Longacre	1965
	Larned, Sylvester	Durand	608
	Patton, William	Durand	630
	Wilbur, Hervey	Durand	667
Metz	Athens, Ruins of	Kelly	1632
Miller	Brooks, Nathan C.	Horton	1450
	King Henry VI	Michel-Leney	1909
Mills	De Kalb Monument	Hill	1327
	Dorsey's Gothic Mansion	Tanner	3123
Mirbel	Copper, J. Fennimore	Pelton	2485
Mitchell	Adams, Samuel	Okey	2370
Morgan	Kenton, Simon	Dodson	494
Morse, S. F. B.	Cross, Jeremy L.	Jocelyn	1532

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
	Emmet, Thomas Addies	Smith, J. R.	2920
	Evarts, Jeremiah	Longacre	1972
	Evarts, Jeremiah	Pelton	2487
	Fisher, Alexander M.	Jocelyn	1538
	Parsons, Levi	Throop	3157
	Smith, Nathan	Jocelyn	1554
	Sprague, William B.	Durand	651
	Webster, Noah	Durand	664
	Worcester, Samuel	Annin & Smith	105
MORTON	Susquehanna River	Strickland	3064
MUNGER	Cross, Jeremy L.	Jocelyn	1531
	Trumbull, Benjamin	Jocelyn	1560
MURRAY	New York City Hospital	Leney	1892
NASH	Kenyon College	Hamm	1259
NASMYTH	Burns, Robert	Childs	343
	Burns, Robert	Ellis	965
	Burns, Robert	Lawson	1680
NEAGLE, J.	Barnes, John	Durand	556
	Barnes, Mary G.	Durand	557
	Barron, James	Steel	3000
	Bascom, Henry B.	Longacre	1931
	Bedell, Gregory T.	Longacre	1934
	Booth, Junius Brutus	Ellis	964
	Chapman, Nathaniel	Kelly	1599
	Collins, John	Longacre	1963
	Conwell, Henry	Bridport	274
	Cowell, Joseph	Durand	574
	Duff, Mrs.	Longacre	1967
	Duff, John	Durand	580
	Forrest, Edwin	Durand	584
	Francis, William	Longacre	1974
	Francis, Mrs. William	Longacre	1975
	Hilson, Ellen Augusta	Durand	594
	Hilson, Thomas	Durand	595
	Jefferson, Joseph	Edwin	785
	Kean, Charles	Goodman	1121
	Kelly, Lydia	Longacre	2029
	Lyon, Patrick	Kelly	1612
	Macready, William C.	Durand	611
	Newton, Robert	Dodson	497
	Ongpatonga, Chief	Bridport	276
	Petalesharoo	Maverick	2227
	Pilmore, Joseph	Goodman & Piggot	1149
	Roberts, Robert R.	Longacre	2081
	Stuart, Charles Gilbert	Edwin	883
	Warren, William	Longacre	2102
	Wemyss, Mr.	Longacre	2115
	Wood, William B.	Ellis	974
	Wylie, Samuel B.	Longacre	2132
	Young, David	Longacre	2134
NEELY	Matteawan, N. Y.	Hill	1344
NEILSON	Weehawken, N. J.	Ellis	979
NEWTON	Irving, Washington	Annin & Smith	94
	McLane, Louis	Kelly	1613
NORTHCOTE, J.	Banks, Thomas	Leney	1710
	Bourgeois, Sir Francis	Leney	1718
	Grey, Lady Jane	Longacre	1991
	Northcote, James	Leney	1824

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Oliver	Elizabeth, Queen	Edwin	756
	Horne, George	Longacre	2604
Opie	Opie, John	Leney	1825
	Opie, Mrs.	Munson	2280
	Rees, Abraham	Gobrecht	1112
Otis, B.	Barton, Benjamin Smith	Otis	2379
	Cooper, Ezekiel	Jones	1509
	Eastburn, Joseph	Clay	392
	Eastburn, Joseph	Otis	2384
	Ely, Ezra Stiles	Childs	344
	Glendy, John	Longacre	1989
	Helmouth, J. H. C.	Goodman & Piggot	1139
	Jefferson, Thomas	Kelly	1008
	Jefferson, Thomas	Neagle	2306
	Madison, Dorothy T. B.	Goodman & Piggot	1144
	Madison, James	Neagle	2310
	Monroe, James	Goodman & Piggot	1146
	Neill, William	Nesmith	2318
	Patterson, James	Smith, J. R.	2927
	Physick, Philip Syng	Otis	2381
	White, Rev. William	Otis	2383
	Wistar, Caspar	Goodman & Piggot	1157-58
	Wistar, Caspar	Longacre	2126
	Wistar, Caspar	Neagle	2314
Paon	Lafayette, Marquis de	Kearny	1509
Paradise, J.	Asbury, Francis	Gimbrede	1034
	Asbury, Francis	Tanner	3062
	Bangs, Nathan	Durand	554
	Beach, W.	Paradise	2388
	Between the Logs	Smith, W. D.	2944
	Capers, William	Longacre	1953
	Chase, Henry	Paradise	2392
	Clark, Leban	Durand	567
	Cooper, Ezekiel	Prud'homme	2564
	Cox, Samuel H.	Durand	575
	Cross, John	Paradise	2394
	Finley, James B.	Durand	582
	Fisk, Wilbur	Paradise	2398
	Garrettson, Freeborn	Danforth	441
	Garrettson, Freeborn	Durand	588
	Garrettson, Freeborn	Prud'homme	2575
	Hanna, John	Danforth	442
	Hart, N. C.	Paradise	2399
	Hedding, Elijah	Durand	593
	Hobart, John Henry	Main	2161
	Hobart, John Henry	Paradise	2400
	McKendree, William	Longacre	2044
	Ma-Nuncus	Durand	614
	Marsden, Joshua	Gimbrede	1065
	Martindale, S.	Smith, W. D.	2959
	Matthias, I. B.	Durand	618
	Mervin, Samuel	Paradise	2405
	Olin, Stephen	Durand	627
	Phoebus, William	Durand	633
	Reece, Richard	Durand	640
	Rees, William	Durand	642
	Soule, Joshua	Paradise	650
	Stead, Henry	Paradise	2408

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
PARADISE, J.	Thacher, William	Paradise	2410
	Woolsey, Elijah	Paradise	670
PARKYNS	Philadelphia, Treaty Tree	Cook	438
PARTRIDGE	Clarke, Adam	Durand	568
	Gano, Stephen	Annin & Smith	92
	Gano, Stephen	Pekenino	2443
PATE	Sibley, E.	Leney	1850
PAUL	Carroll, John	Leney-Tanner	1722, 3085
	Marshall, John	Edwin	822
	Pinckney, Charles C.	Tiebout	3189
	Rush, Benjamin	Akin	21
PEALE, R.	Allen, Richard	Boyd	244
R.	Biddle, Nicholas, Esq.	Longacre-Welch	1983
Anna C.	Branch, John	Longacre	1944
C. W.	Dearborn, Henry	Edwin	746
C. W.	Franklin, Benjamin	Edwin	764
C. W.	Franklin, Benjamin	Peale	2423
C. W.	Gray's Ferry, Pa.	Trenchard	3290-91
C. W.	Greene, Nathanael	Edwin	701, 773
	Greene, Nathanael	Gimbrede	1052
	Hone, Philip	Durand	596
C. W.	Jefferson, Thomas	Akin & Harrison	17
R.	Jefferson, Thomas	Edwin	787
R.	Jefferson, Thomas	Tiebout	3182
R.	Jones, Absalom	Jones	1519
	Jones, Jacob	Edwin	793
C. W.	Jones, John Paul	Longacre	2026
C. W.	Jones, John Paul	Rawdon Co.	2643
R.	Kemp, James	Schwartz	2767
C. W.	Knox, Henry	Edwin	796, 797
C. W.	Lafayette, Marquis de	Peale	2424
C. W.	Laurens, Henry	Neagle	2309
T.	Mastoden, The	Ellis	981
C. W.	Montgomery, Richard	Edwin	701
C. W.	Morgan, Daniel	Edwin	832
C. W.	Muhlenberg, G. H. E.	Goodman & Piggot	1147
C. W.	Muhlenberg, Henry M.	Steel	3012
C. W.	Peale, Charles Willson	Longacre	2065
C. W.	Philadelphia State House	Trenchard	3299
	Pike, Zebulon M.	Edwin	847
C. W.	Pilmore, Joseph	Peale	2425
R.	Pinkney, William	Durand	636
C. W.	Pitt, William	Peale	2426
James	Poulson, Susannah	Lawson	1684
C. W.	Ramsay, David	Longacre	2077
C. W.	Randolph, John	Goodman & Piggot	1151
C. W.	Rittenhouse, David	Edwin	860
C. W.	Rittenhouse, David	Gobrecht	1113
C. W.	Rittenhouse, David	Longacre	2080
C. W.	Rittenhouse, David	Savage	2748
James	Staughton, William	Edwin	880
James	Staughton, William	Smith, G. G.	2906
R.	Torrey, Jesse, Jr.	Goodman & Piggot	1155
C. W.	Warren, Joseph	Edwin	701
	Warren, Joseph	Gimbrede	1095
R.	Washington, George	Edwin	903
C. W.	Washington, George	Paradise	2411

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Peale, C. W.	Washington, George	Peale	2427-30
	Washington, George	Scott	2963
	Washington, George	Trenchard	3276
C. W.	Wayne, Anthony	Edwin	701, 909
C. W.	Williams, Otho H.	Longacre	2122
	Wilson, Alexander	Edwin	914
C. W.	Witherspoon, John	Longacre	2127
C. W.	Witherspoon, John	Pelton	2535
R.	Wood, Juliana W.	Edwin	918
Peckersgill	More, Hannah	Pelton	2510
Peale, J. T.	Dexter, Lord Timothy	Paradise	2396
Pelham	Brockwell, Charles	Pelham	2460
	Byles, Mather	Pelham	2461
	Cutler, Timothy	Pelham	2465
	Hollis, Thomas	Pelham	2466
	Hooper, William	Pelham	2468
	Mather, Cotton	Pelham	2469
	Moorhead, John	Pelham	2470
Penniman	Appleton, Jesse	Chorley	383
	Massachusetts General Hospital	Bowen	230
	Nahant Hotel, Mass.	Annin & Smith	111
	Rollin, Charles	Kelly	1619
	Rollin, Charles	Neagle	2311
	Webb, Thomas S.	Annin & Smith	103
	Winthrop, John	Chorley	389
Percival	Phillips, T.	Gimbrede	1077
Perego	Cristiani, Stephen	Maverick	2300
Peters	Manchester, Duke of	Leney	1809
	Peters, William	Leney	1834
	Petre, Lord	Leney	1835
	Resurrection of a Pious Family	Clarke	417
	Resurrection of a Pious Family	Hill	1359
Phillips	Byron, Lord	Ellis	966
	Byron, Lord	Durand	564
	Byron, Lord	Gimbrede	1042
	Byron, Lord	Kelly	1896
	Byron, Lord	Pelton	2483
Picart	Saurin, James	Durand	646
	Saurin, James	Longacre	2086
Pierpont	Faneuil Hall	Hill	1402
Pigalle	Columbian War	Tiebout	3239
Pine, J.	Elliott, E.	Prud'homme	2571
	Hamlin, L. L.	Prud'homme	2577
	Hedding, Elijah	Prud'homme	2579
	Hopkinson, Francis	Longacre	2002-3
	Hopkinson, Francis	Longacre-Neesmith	2317
	Peck, George	Prud'homme	2590
	Read, George	Longacre	2078
	Sandford, P. P.	Prud'homme	2606
	Stone, Thomas	Ellis	973
	Waugh, Beverly	Prud'homme	2617
Piombo	Michael Angelo	Tiebout	3162
Plantou	Decatur, Stephen	Goodman & Piggot	1130
Pocock	Monmouthshire, England	Birch	154
	Summer	Birch	158

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
PORTER	Massachusetts Bay	Strickland	3072
	Mouina	Strickland	3073
	Stilts	Strickland	3074
	Taawattaa	Strickland	3075
	War Canoe	Strickland	3077
PRATT	Payson, Edward	Kelly	1616
	Pierce, Ben.	Smith, G. G.	2903
	Yale College	Jocelyn	1562
RAEBURN	Blair, Hugh	Kelly	1594-95
	Scott, Sir Walter	Dodson	500
	Scott, Sir Walter	Maverick-Durand	648
	Scott, Sir Walter	Kelly	1622
RAFFET	Robespierre, M.	Prud'homme	2603
	Roland, Madam	Prud'homme	2604
RAMBERG	Abington, Mrs.	Leney	1705
	Farren, Miss	Leney	1753
	Henderson, Mr.	Leney	1774
RAMSAY	Mead, Richard	Jones	1522
RAPHAEL	Virgin Mary	Pekenino	2459
READING	Drayton, William Henry	Wright	3410
REED	Buell, Samuel	Reed	2647
REINAGLE	Elgin Botanic Garden	Leney	1884
	Fort Ticonderoga	Fairman	992
	Leight, Col., Camp of	Kneass-Young	1667
	Macdonough Farmhouse	Childs	367
	Macdonough's Victory	Tanner	3134
	Merion Meeting House, Pa.	Steel	3030
	Philadelphia, Unitarian Church	Childs	378
REYNOLDS, Sir Joshua	Chambers, Sir William	Murray	2283
	Ferguson, Adam	Tucker	3305
	Gibbon, Edward	Durand	590
	Gibbon, Edward	Lawson	1681
	Gibbon, Edward	Pelton	2491
	Goldsmith, Oliver	Hoogland	1422
	Goldsmith, Oliver	Leney	1762
	Goldsmith, Oliver	Longacre	1990
	Goldsmith, Oliver	Neagle	2304
	Goldsmith, Oliver	Pelton	2492
	Hume, David	Longacre	2007
	Johnson, Samuel	Kelly	1609
	Muscipula	Savage	2762
	Robertson, William	Tanner	3099
	Robinson, Mrs.	Birch	153
	Siddons, Sarah Kemble	Longacre	2090
	Sterne, Laurence	Longacre	2097
RICHARDSON	Steele, Sir Richard	Leney	1857
RIDER	State Guards, Pa.	Nesmith	2325
	Washington, Capitol	Lawson	1699
RITCHIE	McCrie, Thomas	Tucker	3309
ROBERTS	Crawford, Mrs.	Leney	1737
	Davenport, Mrs.	Leney	1743
	Hartley, Mrs.	Leney	1773
	Hull, Mr.	Leney	1786
	Middleton, Mr.	Leney	1817
ROBERTSON, Alex.	Berthier, Canada	Maverick	2236
Arch.	Fireman's Certificate	Maverick	2257
Arch.	Genius of Penmanship	Maverick	2241
Walter	Hamilton, Alexander	Graham	1163

Artist		Subject	Engraver	Number
Robertson,	Arch.	Hamilton, Alexander	Prud'homme	2576
	Arch.	Hamilton, Alexander	Rollinson	2709
	Walter	Hamilton, Alexander	Tanner	3002
	Arch.	Hudson River	Graham	1172
	Arch.	Jackson, James	Maverick	2210
	Arch.	Mason, John M.	Graham	1167
	Arch.	Truxton, Thomas	Tiebout	3193
	Walter	Washington, George	Field	1004
		Washington, George	Rollinson	2719
		Washington, George	Tisdale	3257
		Washington, Martha	Longacre	2111
Robinson		Gloucester, John	Tanner-Jones	1514-3091
		Sergeant, John	Kelly	1623
Rodgers		Drake, J. Rodman	Kelly	1600
Rogers		Da Ponte, Lorenzo	Pekenino	2452
		Judson, Ann H.	Cone	421
		Judson, Ann H.	Dodson	493
Romney		Cowper, William	Maverick	2198
		Hamilton, Lady	Gimbrede	1053
		Paine, Thomas	Wright	3412
		Paley, William	Longacre	2063
Roubilliac		Pope, Alexander	Danforth	450
Rubens		Descent from Cross	Leney	1912
Ruckle		Reed, Nelson	Smith, W. D.	2962
Russell		Newton, John	Jocelyn	1548
		Newton, John	Leney	1823
		Wolfe, Charles	Willard	3395
Ryder		United States Capitol, 1814	Lawson	1699
Sanders		Byron, Lord	Ellis	967
Sanson		Sherburne, Nantucket	Tanner	3139
Sargent		Lincoln, Benjamin	Smith, J. R.	2924
		Parthenon, The	Tucker	3323
Savage, E.		Adams, John	Savage	2744
		"Constellation" and "L'Insurgent"	Savage	2757-58
		Columbus, Christopher	Edwin	731
		Declaration of Independence	Savage	2759
		Jefferson, Thomas	Savage	2746
		Knox, Henry	Savage	2747
		Liberty as Goddess of Youth	Savage	2761
		Paine, Robert Treat	Longacre	2062
		Rittenhouse, David	Jarvis	1481
		Rush, Benjamin	Savage	2749
		Russell, Nathaniel	Savage	2750
		Washington, George	Hamlin	1236, 1238-41
		Washington, George	Rollinson	2718
		Washington, George	Savage	2752-53
		Washington, George	Scoles	2809
		Washington, George	Seymour	2878
		Washington, George	Tanner	3105
		Washington Family	Savage	2754
		Wayne, Anthony	Savage	2756
Scheffer		Lafayette, Marquis de	Annin & Smith	95-96
		Lafayette, Marquis de	Danforth	448
		Lafayette, Marquis de	Fairman-Childs	348
Schetky		Edinburgh	Drayton	543
		St. Leonard's Cottage	Drayton	549
Schoolcraft		Sault Ste. Marie	Rawdon	2639

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Schroeder	Harmon, Daniel W.	Leney	1772
	Richmond, Chas., Duke of	Leney	1842
Schultz	Ohio River, Map of	Maverick	2252
Schwandfelder	Sharp, John	Hoogland	1433
Scorodorumoff	Paul I, Russia	Leney	1829
Scott	Spencer, Thomas	Haines	1215
Severn	Hunt, James H. Leigh	Prud'homme	2582
Sexton	Averill, Chester	Prud'homme	2557
Seymour	New Orleans, Battle of	Steel	3031
	Oto Council	Lawson	1694
	Rocky Mountains	Kearny	1579
Shaffer	Brunson, Alfred	Paradise	2390
Sharpless	Bard, John	Leney	1712
	Hamilton, Alexander	Anderson	53
Shaw	Bolling's Dam, Va.	Hill	1343
	Fayetteville	Hill	1343
	Hell-Gate, N. Y.	Hill	1343
	Jones' Falls, Md.	Hill	1343
	Lottery, Waite's	Humphrys	1474
	Lynnhaven Bay, Va.	Hill	1343
	Norfollk, Va.	Hill	1343
	North River, N. Y.	Hill	1343
	Oyster Cove, Va.	Hill	1343
	Passaic Falls, N. J.	Hill	1343
	Passaic River,	Hill	1343
	St. Anthony's Falls	Hill	1343
	Savannah, Burning of	Hill	1343
	Schuylkill Falls, Pa.	Hill	1343
	Spirit Creek, Ga.	Hill	1343
	Washington's Grave	Hill	1343
	West Point Monument	Hill	1343
	Wissahickon Creek	Hill	1343
	York Springs, Pa.	Hill	1355
Shumway	Hubbard, Nehim	Jocelyn	1540
Sibirac	Moore, Thomas	Ellis	971
Simond	Elgin Botanic Garden	Leney	1885
Slater	Richmond, Legh	Longacre	2079
Smart	Swarts, C. F.	Pelton	2524
Smibert	Caner, Henry	Pelham	2462
	Colman, Benjamin	Pelham	2463
	Cooper, William	Pelham	2464
	Pepperrill, Sir Wm.	Pelham	2471
	Rogers, John	Kelly	1618
	Sewall, Joseph	Pelham	2473
	Shirley, Sir William	Pelham	2474
Smirke	McCrea, Jane	Annin	74
	Seven Ages, The	Leney	1907
Smith, A. C.	Baptismal Scene	Tiebout	3237
	Brainerd, Thomas	Smith, J. R.	2918
J. R.	Brick Meeting House, Boston	Kidder	1643
J. R.	Garnett, Thomas	Leney	1758
J. R.	Jefferson, Thomas	Maverick	2212
	Keith, Isaac Stockton	Goodman & Piggot	1142
	Mount Carbon, Pa.	Smith, J. R.	2936
	National Hotel, Washington	Longacre	2153
	Noah, Mordecai M.	Gimbrede	1073
Sodermark	Bremer, Fredrika	Prud'homme	2559

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Spencer		Finney, Charles G.	Paradise	2397
		Kent, James	Durand	605
St. Aubin		Alexander I, Russia	Edwin	696
St. Memin		Lewis, Meriwether	Strickland	3050
Staigg		Webster, Daniel	Dodson-Cheney	502
Stansbury		New York City, Broadway	Rawdon & Co.	2644
		Coffee House Slip	Danforth	459
Steward, J. or		Wheelock Eleazar	Reed	2657
Stewart		Strong, Nathan	Pelton	2522
Stothard		Boleyn, Anne	Kelly	1596
Street		Tyson, Elisha	Cone	423
Strickland		Ball, William	Kneass	1645
		"Constitution", "Levant" and "Cyane"	Strickland	3054
	Wm.	Finley Chain Bridge	Tanner	3126
		Fort McHenry, Bombardment of	Kneass	1658
		Hamilton Monument	Plocher	2546
	Geo.	Philadelphia, Pa.		
		Academy of Fine Arts	Childs	351
	Wm.	Almshouse, Spruce St.	Boyd	270
	Geo.	Academy of Natural Sciences	Childs	352
	Geo.	Bank of Pennsylvania	Tucker	3316
	Geo.	Bank of United States	Childs	354
	Wm.	Bank of United States	Kearny	1572
	Wm.	Bank of United States	Kneass-Young	1659
	Geo.	Bank of United States	Tucker	3317
	Geo.	Christ Church	Childs	356
	Geo.	Deaf and Dumb Asylum	Childs	358
	Wm.	Franklin Library	Thackara	3150
	Geo.	Girard's Bank	Childs	353
	Wm.	Market St. Bridge	Plocher	2547
	Wm.	Masonic Hall	Kneass	1663
	Geo.	Pennsylvania Hospital	Childs	368-69
	Wm.	Pennsylvania Hospital	Seymour	2881
	Geo.	St. Stephen's Church	Childs	375
	Geo.	State House	Childs	376
	Geo.	University of Penna.	Steel	3035
	Geo.	Washington Hall	Strickland	3065
	Wm.	Quebec, Canada	Kneass	1664
		Queenstown, Canada	Strickland	3061
		Radnor Church	Tiebout	3226
	Wm.	Upper Ferry Bridge, Pa.	Plocher	2547
		Valley Forge, Pa.	Tiebout	3233
		Woodlands, Pa.	Murray	2296
Strutt		Campbell, Mr.	Wightman	3354
Stuart, G.		Adams, John	Gimbrede	1031
		Adams, John	Longacre	1916-19
		Adams, John Quincy	Longacre	1920-22
		Ames, Fisher	Boyd	245
		Ames, Fisher	Edwin	702-4
		Ames, Fisher	Gimbrede	1033
		Ames, Fisher	Kelly	1593
		Ames, Fisher	Leney	1707
		Ames, Fisher	Prud'homme	2556
		Bainbridge, William	Edwin	708-9

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Stuart, G.	Barry, John	Edwin	711
	Barry, John	Longacre	1928
	Bowdoin, James	Smith, J. R.	2917
	Bowditch, Nathaniel	Pelton	2481
	Brooks, John	Durand	561
	Buckminster, Joseph S.	Edwin	719
	Dallas, Alexander J.	Goodman & Piggott	1129
	Dallas, Alexander J.	Leney	1741
	Decatur, Stephen	Edwin	748-49
	Decatur, Stephen	Gimbrede	1049
	Gansevoort, Peter	Prud'homme	2574
	Gates, Horatio	Tiebout	3171
	Holley, Horace	Kelly	1606
	Hull, Isaac	Edwin	780-82
	Hull, Isaac	Graham	1165
	Jay, John	Durand	601
	Jay, John	Leney	1789-90
	Jay, John	Maverick	2211
	Jay, John	Tiebout	3179
	Jefferson, Thomas	Edwin	789
	Jefferson, Thomas	Field	1001
	Jefferson, Thomas	Longacre	2021-23
	Jefferson, Thomas	Pelton	2504
	King, Rufus	Kelly	1610
	Knox, Henry	Prud'homme	2585
	Lawrence, James	Edwin	802
	Lawrence, James	Leney	1800
	Lawrence, James	Rollinson	2713
	Lee, Henry	Prud'homme	2588
	Lewis, William	Goodman & Piggot	1143
	Livingston, John H.	Jarvis	1480
	Livingston, Robert R.	Graham	1166
	McKean, Thomas	Edwin	814
	McKean, Thomas	Longacre	2043
	Madison, Dorothy T. P.	Edwin	819
	Madison, James	Edwin	817
	Madison, James	Jones	1520
	Madison, James	Leney	1807-8
	Mifflin, Thomas	Bridport	275
	Paine, Robert Treat, Jr.	Tisdale	3254
	Parsons, Theophilus	Leney	1828
	Phillips, William	Pelton	2516
	Pickering, Timothy	Piggot	2543
	Shippen, Edward	Edwin	873
	Shippen, William, Jr.	Haines	1214
	Smith, William	Edwin	877
	Smith, William	Savage	2751
	Strong, Caleb	Longacre	2098
	Washington, George	Chorley	388
	Washington, George	Durand	661-62
	Washington, George	Fairman	995
	Washington, George	Gimbrede	1097
	Washington, George	Goodman & Piggot	1156
	Washington, George	Harrison, C. P.	1282-83
	Washington, George	Jocelyn	1561
	Washington, George	Johnston	1497
	Washington, George	Kelly	1630-31

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Stuart, G.	Washington, George	Kennedy	1637
	Washington, George	Leney	1869
	Washington, George	Longacre	2106-10
	Washington, George	Maverick	2230-31
	Washington, George	Neesmith	2319-20
	Washington, George	Norman	2354
	Washington, George	Paradise	2412
	Washington, George	Peabody	2419
	Washington, George	Pekenino	2453
	Washington, George	Pelton	2527, 2531
	Washington, George	Prud'homme	2616
	Washington, George	Reed	2655-56
	Washington, George	Roberts	2701
	Washington, George	Savage	2755
	Washington, George	Scoles	2810-11
	Washington, George	Shallus	2894
	Washington, George	Smith, G. G.	2908
	Washington, George	Smith, J. R.	2934
	Washington, George	Smith, W. D.	2966
	Washington, George	Steel	3019
	Washington, George	Strickland	3052
	Washington, George	Tanner	3102, -04, 3106
	Washington, George	Tiebout	3194-95
	Washington, George	Tiller	3241, 3247
	Washington, George	Willard	3390-92
	Washington, George	Woodruff	3406-07
	Washington, George	Yeager	3428-29
	White, Rev. William	Edwin	911
	White, Rev. William	Tiebout	3199
Stutson	Washington Memorial	Hill	1360
Sully, Thos.	Adams, John Quincy	Durand	551
	Andrews, John	Edwin	706
	Boudinot, Elias	Boyd	247
	Chapman, Nathaniel	Goodman & Piggott	1128
	Chapman, Nathaniel	Neagle	2303
	Cooke, George Frederick	Edwin	732
	Decatur, Stephen	Durand	579
	Decatur, Stephen	Prud'homme	2568
	Dorsey, John Syng	Goodman & Piggot	1132-34
	Henry, Patrick	Leney	1776
	Hosack, David	Durand	597
	Jackson, Andrew	Longacre	2012
	Macomb, Alexander	Longacre	2046
	Madison, James	Edwin	818
	Morris, Gouverneur	Longacre	2052
	Philadelphia, Pa. Swedes' Church	Childs	377
	Physick, Philip Syng	Longacre	2069
	Pickens, Andrew	Longacre	2070
	Ross, James	Goodman & Piggot	1152
	Rush, Benjamin	Dodson	499
	Rush, Benjamin	Edwin	864-65
	Rush, Benjamin	Gobrecht	1114
	Rush, Benjamin	Leney	1844
	Rush, Benjamin	Longacre	2062
	Skinner, Thomas H.	Goodman & Piggot	1153
	Snyder, Simon	Edwin	878

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SULLY, Thomas	Tompkins, Daniel D.	Jones	1527
	Vaughan, John	Steel	3017
	Warren, William	Edwin	890
	Washington Crossing the Delaware	Lang	1672
	White, Rev. William	Pekenino	2455
	Wilkes, Charles	Dodson	504
	Williams, Jonathan	Dodson	503
	Wolcott, Oliver	Durand	669
	Wood, William B.	Edwin	919
SULLY-KEARNY	Lake Erie, Battle of	Murray & Co.	2288-89
SUTLIFF	Beacon Hill Monument	Tanner	3119
SVININ	Alexander I, Russia	Edwin	697
	Moreau, Victor	Annin	76
TAYLOR	New York City, Plan of	Roberts	2702
TERRIGI	Napoleon Bonaparte	Humphreys	1470
THOMAS	Ulmus, New Species of	Doolittle	537
THOMPSON	Blair, John D.	Martin	2178
THOMSON	Griswold, Alexander V.	Longacre	1992
	Sargent, Thomas F.	Rollinson	2716
TILYARD	Mareschal, Ambrose	Longacre	2047
TISDALE	Brainard, J. G. G.	Longacre	1942
	Lexington Battle	Tiebout	3213
	Washington, George	Scoles	2812
TITIAN	Charles V, Germany	Anderson	47
	Francis I, France	Anderson	52
TOWER	Croton Aqueduct, Views on	Bennett	128-134
	Croton Aqueduct, Views on	Hill	1357
TROTT, B.	Abercrombie, James	Edwin	691
	Clymer, George	Hooker	1441
	Clymer, George	Longacre	1962
	Gibson, James	Goodman & Piggot	1138
	Richards, James	Bridport	277
	Washington, George	Fairman	994
	Washington, George	Gobrecht	1115
	Washington, George	Longacre	2105
	Washington, George	Wright, C. C.	3415
TRUMBULL, J.	Bunker Hill Battle	Norman	2359
	Clinton, De Witt	Leney	1730
	Declaration of Independence	Durand	679
	Declaration of Independence	Prud'homme	2622-23
	Dwight, Timothy	Leney	1747
	Ellsworth, Oliver	Edwin	758
	Ellsworth, Oliver	Maverick	2201
	Hamilton, Alexander	Field	1000
	Morgan, Daniel	Prud'homme	2594
	Platt, Jonas	Durand	637
	Putnam, Israel	Gimbrede	1083
	Putnam, Israel	Humphrys	1472
	Schuyler, Philip	Kelly	1620
	Trumbull, John (Poet)	Durand-Maverick	657, 2229
	Trumbull, Jonathan	Pelton	2525
	Washington, George	Durand	659
	Washington, George	Tucker	3314
	Wayne, Anthony	Prud'homme	2618
	Williamson, Hugh	Durand	668
TUCKER	Moses and the Tablets	Kearny	1584

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
TUTHILL	Cass, Lewis	Lewis	1913
TWIBILL	Hill, George H.	Kelly	1605
UNDERWOOD	Oxford Light Infantry	Nesmith	2323
	Philadelphia Cadets	Nesmith	2324
VANDERLYN, J.	Ariadne	Durand	682
	Bard, Samuel	Main	2160
	Davie, Wm. Richardson	Longacre	1966
	Gerry, Elbridge	Longacre	1967-68
	Jackson, Andrew	Durand	600
	Monroe, James	Durand	622
	Monroe, James	Gimbrede	1066-67
	Monroe, James	Peabody	2418
VANDYCK	Charles I, England	Gimbrede	1044
VERTUE	Owen, John	Gimbrede	1074
VILLENEUVE	Leo XII	Steel	3011
VIVIEN	Fénelon	Clarke	398
	Fénelon	Pelton	2488
VOLOKAN	Sacred Harmony	Edwin	930
WALDO, S. L.	Gamble, Thomas	Longacre	1984
	Jackson, Andrew	Maverick	2208
	Old Pat	Durand	628
	Perry, Oliver H.	Edwin	844-45
	Pickering, Timothy	Gimbrede	1078
WALDO & JEWETT	Boudinot, Elias	Durand	559
	Boudinot, Elias	Paradise	2389
	Colden, Cadwallader D.	Durand	572
	Durand, Asher Brown	Pekenino	2439
	Livermore, Harriet	Longacre	2036
	McLeod, Alexander	Durand	610
	Mathews, J. McF.	Durand	617
	Milledoler, Philip	Durand	619
	Milnor, James	Durand	620
	Mitchell, Edward	Maverick	2219
	Phillips, W. W.	Smith, W. D.	2960
	Romeyn, J. B.	Durand	641
	Summerfield, John	Durand	654
	Taylor, James B.	Jocelyn	1557
	Trumbull, Col. John	Durand	656
WALKER	Cromwell, Oliver	Gimbrede	1048
WALL	Dempster, John	Paradise	2395
	Fort Ticonderoga	Maverick	2256
	Hudson, near Fishkill	Steel	3038
	New York City, View of	Maverick	2249
	Troy, N. Y.	Smith, J. R.	2938
WALTER	Philadelphia, Girard College	Steel	3026
WATSON	Schuylkill River, Pa.	Childs	373
WEAVER	Mitchell, Mr.	Scoles	2796
WEINEDEL	Unknown Man	Longacre	2141
WEIR, Robt. W.	Beck, Theodoric R.	Prud'homme	2558
	Fort Putnam	Durand	676
	Red Jacket	Danforth	452
	Sands, Robert C.	Durand	645
	Scott, Winfield	Prud'homme	2607
	Washington, George	Durand	663
WELLS	Philadelphia, State House	Neagle	2315
WENTWORTH	Leavitt, Jonathan	Jocelyn	1544
WERTMULLER	Bayard, James A.	Goodman & Piggot	1127

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
West, B.	Bouquet, Col., and Indians	Revere	2683
W. E.	Byron, Lord	Longacre	1947
W. E.	Byron, Lord	Smith, W. D.	2947
B.	Elisha and the Shumanites	Longacre	2156
B.	Fulton, Robert	Leney	1755-56
B.	Middleton, Arthur	Longacre	2051
	New Orleans, Battle of	Yeager	3433
I. E.	New York City College of Physicians	Leney	1891
W. E.	Olin, Stephen	Prud'homme	2596
B.	Penn's Treaty	Moore	2277
B.	Penn's Treaty	Smith, G. G.	2912
B.	West, Benjamin, Jr.,	Tiebout	3198
B.	West, Raphael	Tiebout	3198
West-Emmet	Fulton, Robert	Leney	1757
Westall	Byron, Lord	Longacre	1948
Westmacott	Abercrombie Monument	Tanner	3116
Westoby	Murray, Lindley	Durand	624
Wheeler	Jackson, Andrew	Edwin	784
	Jackson, Andrew	Gimbrede	1055-57
White	Connecticut River	Childs	357
	Ramsay, David	Gimbrede	1064
Wightman	Unknown Man	Prud'homme	2620
Wilcox	New York City, City Hall	Prud'homme	2624
Wildman	Codman, John	Pelton	2448
Willard	McNeil, John	Pelton	2508
Williams, W.	Adams, John	Houston	1453
	Bainbridge, William	Smith, J. R.	2916
H.	Colby, John	Williams	3363
	Duff, John	Edwin-Boyd	751
H.	Eustis, William	Annin & Smith	91
H.	Heath, William	Smith, J. R.	2922
H.	Hull, Isaac	Smith, J. R.	2923
	Ingalls, William	Lavigne	1675
H.	Parish, E.	Smith, J. R.	2926
Chas. V.	Percival, Spencer	Kneass	1653
H.	Phillips, John	Lavigne	1676
H.	Rogers, John	Smith, J. R.	2929
H.	Sedgwick, Theodore	Smith, J. R.	2930
H.	Smith, Elias	Williams	3364
H.	Thomas, Isaiah	Smith, J. R.	2932
H.	Thomson, Samuel	Williams	3365
Wilson	Franklin, Benjamin	Longacre	1981
	Niagara Falls, N. Y.	Cooke	435-36
Wilson	Watson, Elkanah	Paradise	2413
Wivell	George IV, England	Hoogland	1421
Wood, J.	Backus, Azel	Longacre	1926
	Barney, Joshua	Childs	340
	Biddle, James	Gimbrede	1037-38
	Brown, Jacob	Gimbrede	1041
	Burke, Mr.	Steel	3002
	Chauncey, Isaac	Edwin	727
	Cooper, Thomas Apthorpe	Edwin	736
	Daggett, David	Jocelyn	1533
	Dale, Richard	Dodson	485
	Dale, Richard	Edwin	743-744
	Dwight, Timothy	Leney	1746

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Wood, J.	Fennell, James	Boyd	251
	Griffin, E. D.	Leney	1766
	Harrison, William H.	Jones	1516
	Inglis, James	Throop	3156
	Jackson, Andrew	Childs	347
	Jackson, Andrew	Fairman & Childs	989
	Jackson, Andrew	Harrison	1287
	Jackson, Andrew	Longacre	2015
	Jackson, Andrew	Maverick	2209
	Jackson, Andrew	Steel	3009
	Jackson, Andrew	Willard	3375
	James, Thomas C.	Neagle	2305
	Johnson, Richard M.	Harrison	1280
	Johnson, Richard M.	Neagle	2307
	King, Rufus	Leney	1798
	McFarland, Francis F.	Edwin	813
	Madison, Dorothy T. D.	Prud'homme	2591
	Marshall, John	Kearny	1570
	Murray, Alexander	Edwin	833
	Murray, Alexander	Willard	3382
	New York City, View of	Rollinson	2723
	Payne, Master	Leney	1830
	Porter, David	Edwin	853
	Porter, David	Prud'homme	2601
	Staughton, William	Bowen	217
	Stewart, Charles	Goodman	1122
	Washington, Bushrod	Neagle	2312
	Wilson, James P.	Boyd	269
	Winder, William H.	Cone	426
Woolaston	Grove, Henry	Leney	1767
	Henley, John	Leney	1775
Woolley	Snyder, Simon	Tiebout	3190
Wright	Clinton, George	Tiebout	3167
	Washington, George	Manly	2171
	Washington, George	Murray	2286
	Washington, George	Rollinson	2717
	Washington, George	Scoles	2808
	Washington, George	Todd	3271
	Washington, George	Wright, J.	3418
Yeager	Philadelphia, Arch St. Theatre	Yeager	3430
Young	Gano, Stephen	Hamlin	1231-32
	Knight, Nehemiah R.	Sanford	2739
Zoust	Shakspere, William	Edwin	869-70
Zuccaro	Mary, Queen of Scots	Leney	1813

FIELDING'S LIST

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
A. J.	New York, Plan (about 1795)	Maverick	1047
Abbott, H.	St. Peter's and the Vatican	Neagle	1112
Abernethie	Masonic Certificate	Abernethie	1
Agate	Chief of Eta	Paradise	1179
Allan	Rob Roy (title-page)	Annin & Smith	79
	Waverly Novels (Scott) title-pages	Annin & Smith	80
Alston	Moonlight	Ellis	448
Ames,	Blatchford, Samuel	Smith, W. D.	1465
	Clarke, Beulah Allen	Maverick	1024
E.	Clinton, De Witt	Balch	92
Anderson, J.	Boston, Faneuil Hall Market	Bowen	169
A.	Canker Worms	Anderson	49
	Henry and Anne	Tiebout	1596
J.	New York, Belvedere House	Scoles	1340
Andrews	Boston, State House and Common	Bowen	183
Armstrong	"Israel said it is enough"	Longacre	1005
Aspin	Temple of Heliopolis	Haines	539
	Temple of Heliopolis	Campbell	235
Atkinson	Petersburg	Boyd	214
Baker, J.	Bunker's Hill, Battle of	Baker	83
	Christ, Resurrection of	Baker	88
	Departure, The	Baker	87
	Lexington, Battle of	Baker	84
Barber, A. W.	Miniature of the World in the 19th Century	Barber	116
	New Haven, Conn. (plan)	Barber	113
	New Haven, Conn. (plan)	Barber	115
	New Haven, Conn. (plan)	Barber	114
Barralet	Certificate, Catch Club of Philadelphia	Seymour	1398
	Certificate, Philadelphia Society	Harrison	575
	Columbus, Landing of	Humphrys	735
	Country Cider Mill	Tiebout	1619
	Emmett Memorial	Seymour	1426
	Frolic and Wasp	Seymour	1429
	Guerriere and Constitution	Tanner	1545
	Hamilton Memorial	Tiebout	1595
	Milton, John (dictating Paradise Lost)	Edwin	421
	Natural Bridge, Va.	Lawson	933
	Philadelphia Acad. Fine Arts (Ticket)	Harrison	580
	United States and Macedonian	Seymour	1430
Bartlett, W.	Antioch	Prud'homme	1231

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Bassano	Wise Men, The	Plocher	1220
Bedwell	South Mountain Pass	Thackara	1570
Behan	Britannia	Bowen	192
Behan & Lyman	Patterson Falls	Leney	965
Bell	Anatomical Plates	Anderson	33
Benjamin	Church, Elevation of	Wightman	1737
Bennett, W. J.	Baltimore, Md.	Bennett	124
	Boston, View of	Bennett	125
	Doubtful Shilling, The	Bennett	131
	New York Bay, A Brisk Gale	Bennett	141
	New York, Fulton St. Market	Bennett	143
	Niagara Falls Rapids	Bennett	145
	Niagara Falls from Table Rock	Bennett	144
	Solitude	Bennett	149
	Troy	Bennett	152
	West Point	Bennett	153
Bigelow	Scoliophis Atlanticus (serpent)	Annin	68
Billings	Boston, American House	Smith	1447
Birch, T.	Breck, Samuel, residence	Steel	1496
	Certificate, Societas Cliosophica	Kneass	873
	Delaplaine's Repository, 1815	Lawson	920
Wm.	New York	Seymour	1427
T.	Philadelphia, 2nd and Race Sts.	Seymour	1433
	Philadelphia, Schuylkill, Beck's Shot Tower	Unsigned	1895
	Rail Shooting	Kearny	813
	Taquendama, Falls of	Kearny	817
	Whale	Hill	663
Blobmart	Elijah, Translation of	Hoogland	713
	St. Paul	Seymour	1430
Boaden	Unwelcome Guest	Ellis	465
Bogle	Chase, Philander	Prud'homme	1228
Bonington	Lute, The	Pelton	1215
Boston Mag.	Animal Flowers	Norman	1148
	Balloon, Ascent of	Norman	1145
	Balloon, Descent of	Norman	1146
	Balloon, Air	Norman	1154
	Faithful Shepard	Norman	1156
	Glass House, A	Norman	1151
	Nightingale Monument	Norman	1149
	Switzerland, Liberty of	Norman	1147
Bouchette	Chambly, Fort	Bennett	1278
	Nicolet, Village of	Bennett	146
Bowen	Boston, House of Industry	Bowen	170
	Boston, Insane Hospital	Bowen	171
	Boston, Johnson Hall	Bowen	172
	Boston Theatre	Bowen	186
	Charlestown, Mass.	Bowen	187
Bowman	Baldwin, Henry	Goodman & Piggot	522
Bridges	New York, Washington Hall	Jocelyn	752
Bridport	Analectic Mag. (title pages) 1816, Vol. 7	Kearny	781
Bromley	Mary, Queen of Scots	Ellis	438
Brown, B.	Prayer, Book of Common	Brown	234
T. B.	West Point	Prud'homme	1233
Buck	Mother and Child	Osborn	1167

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Bullfinch	United States Capitol	Childs	287
	Washington Capitol	Stone	1509-1513
Bunbury	Horsemanship, Lessons in	Charles	270
Burges	Astronomical Chart	Norman	1142
Burnet	Funeral of Pompey	Kennedy	860
Burney	Alexander at Persepolis	Hoogland	702
	Caesar, Death of	Gridley	535
	Minstrels at Vaux Hall	Kneass	893
	Pandean Minstrels	Kneass	893
Burr, H.	Yale, Elisha	Balch	106
Burton	New York, Battery	King	868
Busby	New York, City Hall	Hooker	717
	New York, State Prison	Hooker	718
Buss	Soliciting a Vote	Ellis	463
Campbell	Philip Baptising the Eunuch	Jocelyn	753
	Philip Baptising the Eunuch	Campbell	232
Canda	Certificates, Mechanics & Tradesman Soc.	Tanner	1536
Carbould	Willoughby, Death of	Tanner	1541
Carner	Constitution and Guerriere	Smith	1456-1458
Carr, J.	Cherbourg	Bennett	129
	Lighthouse at Havre	Bennett	135
	Southampton	Bennett	150
	Torr Abbey	Bennett	151
Castona	St. Catherine, Marriage of	Tiebout	1652
Catin	Lockport, Erie Canal	Mumford	1076
Catlin	Hudson, from West Point	Hill	603
Chantry	Washington, George	Pelton	1212
Chapman, J.	Columbus, Landing of	Danforth	327
	Disguise, The	Prud'homme	1235
	New York	Bennett	142
	Snare, The	Lawson	939
Charles, Wm.	Bonaparte, Napoleon (caricature)	Charles	261-262, 264
	Carson, Murder of Capt.	Charles	253
	Court of Dover in Session (caricature)	Charles	254
	Fallen Pillar of the Kirk (caricature)	Charles	263
	John Bull's Reply	Charles	245
	Johnny's Old Tune	Charles	258
	Sculptor, The (caricature)	Charles	250
	Seaman's Wife Reckoning (caricature)	Charles	247
	Supper, Boney's Last (caricature)	Charles	257
Chataigner	Jackson, Andrew	Leney	964
Chevalier	Masonic Certificate	Maverick	1043
Clay, E. W.	American Monthly Mag. (title-page)	Childs	293
	Negro Duel	Clay	309
	Spy, The (title-page)	Childs	291
Cochin	Franklin, Benj.	Maverick & Co.	1062
	Franklin, Benj.	Unsigned	1815
Cockerell	Arcadia	Kearny	784
Cole	American Scenery	Ellis	444
	Boone, Daniel, at Lake Osage	Kelly	837

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
Colquhoun	Ross, George	Leney	968
Columbian Mag.	Ohiopyle Falls, Pa.	Unsigned	1860
Cooke	Charleston, S. C.	Bennett	128
Copley	Hancock, John	Hiller	698
Copper	Reynard	Kearny	814
Corbould	Biblé Plates		
	Ahab in the Vineyard	Anderson	35
	David and Goliath	Kelly	850
	Jonah and the Gourd	Anderson	46
	Contented Captive	Ellis	456
	Johnson, Saml. (Illus.)	Kearny	802
	Parting Hour, The	Tanner	461
	Thomson's Poems, (Illus.)	Lawson	942-943
Correggio	Holy Resignation	Chorley	302
	Penitence	Hoogland	710
Corne	Power of Solitude (frontispiece)	Akin	15
Cosse	Scott, Thos.	Ellis	439
Cosway	Childhood	Balch	107
Crackfardi	Foot Race (caricature)	Johnston	760
	Free-Masons Procession	Johnston	761
Craig, W. M.	Alexander, Death of	Neagle	1118
	Alexandria	Campbell	233
	Alexandria	Hoogland	703
	Amsterdam	Neagle	1093
	Athens	Kelly	836
	Babylon, Great Wall	Chorley	297
	Bible Plates		
	Ark, Sending Back the	Kelly	855
	Charon's Integrity	Kelly	849
	Christ, Suffer Little Children	Palmer	1173
	Christ, Suffer Little Children	Neagle	1133
	Christ, Temptation	Palmer	1174
	Jerusalem	Haines	540
	Joseph Cast into the Pit	Neagle	1122
	Levites Receiving Treasure	Neagle	1124
	Xerxes and the Sea	Neagle	1137
	Caesar, Assassination of	Kelly	846
	Cairo	Neagle	1096
	Carthage	Chorley	298
	Frontispiece (A Building)	Neagle	1119
	Gondar	Campbell	230
	Hannibal Crossing the Alps	Neagle	1120
	McLean, Neil	Leney	966
	Morocco	Chorley	299
	Porto Ferrajo	Campbell	234
	Venice	Neagle	1113
Crane	Gamboy	Boyd	209
Crawley	Norfok, Va., Orphan Asylum	Childs	283
Crosier	Certificates, Independent Benevolent Society	Anderson	58
Cruikshank	Seringapatam, Storming of	Radcliffe	1240
Cummings, T.	Eva	Tucker	1713
	New York, City Hall	Steel	1499
	Powell, James A.	Prud'homme	1236
Curtis	New England Glass Works	Childs	282
Cutler	Cincinnati, Ohio	Cutler	332

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D., R. E.	Electrical Machine	Smither	1485
Damer	Coriolanus	Leney	970
Dana	New Hampshire (Mountains)	Bowen	189
Darley	Cooper's Works, (Illus.)	Paradise	1181
David	Bonsparte, Napoleon	Pekenino	1188
Davis,	Columbia College	Balch	108
A. J.	New York		
	Adelphi Hotel	Rawdon & Wright	1262
	American Hotel	Throop	1586
	Battery	Eddy	414
	Bowery Theatre	Rawdon & Wright	1261
	Public Buildings	Smith	1468
	St. Paul's	Eddy	416
	St. Thomas's Church	Rawdon & Wright	1263
	Trinity Church	Eddy	417
Dawkins	Louisiana (Map)	Dawkins	330
De Berniere	Charlestown, Mass., Battle of	Kneass & Young	905
Delaroche	Joan of Arc	Neagle	1104
	John II Surrendering Charles VII	Allardice	22
Denon	Almees, Dancing in a Harem	Tanner	1540
or	Cairo	Tiebout	1613
Denin	Egyptian Barber	Gridley	536
	Egyptian Lady	Gridley	537
	Mamelukes, Arms of the	Gridley	534
	Sheiks, Assembly of	Tanner	1534
Dewint	Hampton Court	Childs	278
Dickinson	Boston Monthly Mag. (title-page)	Hoogland	704
	Cherub	Longacre	1000
	Osborne Poems (frontispiece)	Hoogland	708
Dighton	Ashton, J. (advertisement)	Sparrow	1490
Dolce or	Christ in the Garden	Boyd	203
Dolci	Maria Maddalena, S.	Main	1013
Doolittle	Plutarch's Lives (Illus.)	Doolittle	363-368
	Pneumatic Cistern (Yale College)	Doolittle	369
Dorsey, J. S.	Dorsey (book plate)	Dorsey	396
	Richards, Julia	Dorsey	395
	Surgical Plates	Jones	773
Doughty,	American Traveller (Views)	Steel	1501-1503
T.	Cabinet of Natural History (title-page)	Tucker	1718
	Catskill Falls	Ellis	445
	Delaware Water Gap	Ellis	446
	Lake Scene	Ellis	447
	Niagara Falls from Table Rock	Ellis	449
	Passaic Falls	Ellis	450
	Philadelphia, Schuylkill River	Ellis	451
	Potomac, Falls of	Childs	285
	Silver Cascade	Ellis	452
	Trenton Falls	Ellis	453
Doyle, W. M.	Strong, Caleb	Smith	1454
	Sullivan, James	Fox	495
Drayton	Flowers, Language of	Drayton	400
	Frontispiece, Mrs. Marshall's Works	Drayton	398
Dunham	Dartmouth College	Hill	675

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Duplessis	Franklin, Benj.	Durand & Co.	406
	Franklin, Benj.	Pelton	1202
Durand	Adams, John Quincy	Balch	90
Earle, A.	Algiers	Earle	407
	Goletta, Fortress of	Earle	408
	Rutledge, Edward	Unsigned	1891
	Winchester, Elhanan	Eddy	410
Eckhout	Hiram and Solomon	Neagle	1121
Edwards	Sheep	Maverick	1055
Elliot	Washington, First Unitarian Church	Harrison	576
Ellis	Kuakini, Gov., of Hawaii	Jocelyn	747
Ender	Glove, The	Ellis	457
Fairman, G.	Analectic Mag. (title-pages)		
	1813, Vol. 1	Fairman	473
	Vol. 2	Fairman	474
	1819, Vol. 13	Neagle	1085
	Emporium Arts and Science (title-page)	Kearny	795
	Masonic Free-Mason's Magazine	Fairman	478
	Portfolio Mag. Vol. 2, 1813	Kneass	898
	Portfolio Mag., Vol. 1, 1816	Fairman	479
	Psalm Book, (Illus.)	Kearny	812
	Washington, Tomb of	Murray	1082
	Woman seated by Child	Fairman	480
Faithorne	Milton, John	Pelton	1206
Farrier	Hesitation	Kearny	798
Fenderich	Wall, Garrett D.	Balch	102
Fielding	Naples, Bay of	Childs	281
Filson	Kentucky, (Map)	Pursell	1239
Fisher, A.	Bachman, Rev. J.	Wright	1754
	Escape, An	Annin & Smith	81
	Goering, Rev. Jacob	Wagner	1729
Flagg	Mill, Hemp	Revere	1272
Fox, G.	Bible Plate, Job	Harrison	588
B. K.	Gilpin Paper Mill, Brandywine	Lybrand	1010
	Philadelphia, Fairmount Water Works	Lybrand	1009
Fradelle	Meditation	Ellis	459
Frazer	Rhode Island, Shores of	Childs	286
Fuseli	(frontispiece) Temple of Nature	Tanner	1548
	Satan, Head of	Boyd	217
Gimbrede	Constitution and Guerriere	Gimbrede	513
Gonzales	Psalm Book, (Illus.)	Maverick	1054
Graham, G.	African Hospitality	Gridley	533
	Certificates, Cincinnati Society	Graham	528
	Emblematic	Graham	528
Grain	Detroit	Bennett	130
	New York, Lafayette Theatre	Eddy	415
Green	Anthophile	Tiebout	1608
Greenwood	Yale College	Johnston	1932
Grenier	Brave Brother, The	Ellis	454
Guercchino	Holy Family	Palmer	1170
or Guercchino	Joseph and Pharaoh's Dream	Boyd	211
Guido	St. Michel and the Devil	Seymour	1419

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HACKERT	Harriers	Leney	975
HAMILTON	Siddons, Mrs., as Matilda	Leney	969
HARRIS	New York, American Hotel	Maverick	1069
	Rhode Island and Conn. (Map)	Hill	686
	Rhode Island, (Map)	Hill	687
HARRISON	Clinton, DeWitt, Memorial	Hill	600
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